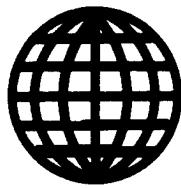


JPRS-NEA-92-118  
17 SEPTEMBER 1992



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# ***JPRS Report—***

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# **Near East & South Asia**

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**PAKISTAN**

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# Near East & South Asia

## PAKISTAN

JPRS-NEA-92-118

### CONTENTS

17 September 1992

#### POLITICAL

##### International Affairs

American Banning of Visas for Pakistanis Questioned	[THE MUSLIM 5 Aug]	1
U.S Accusation on Support of Terrorism Viewed With Alarm	[NAWA-I-WAQT 14 Jul]	2
Country Hit by Democrat's Congressional 'Onslaught'	[THE NATION 10 Aug]	3
PRC To Give 2 More Squadrons of F-7P Fighter Planes	[THE PAKISTAN TIMES 2 Aug]	3

##### Regional Affairs

Analyst Sees Discord, Drift in Relations With Iran	[THE NATION 26 Jul]	4
Egypt's Qualification To Mediate Questioned	[THE MUSLIM 5 Aug]	5
JKLF Leader Speaks Out on Plans in Kashmir	[THE NATION 21 Jul]	6
DAWN Wants Settlement on Siachen in Oct Talks	[DAWN 2 Aug]	9
Paper Views Talks With India; Criticizes Sharif Policy	[THE MUSLIM 20 Aug]	9
Daily Notes Threat From Indian Missile Program	[THE NATION 21 Aug]	10
Editorial Condemns Indian Defense Minister 'Warning'	[THE NATION 27 Aug]	10
Government Stand on Afghan Fighting Criticized	[THE NATION 20 Aug]	11
Embassy Issues Visas to Sikhs, Hindus Fleeing Kabul	[THE MUSLIM 23 Aug]	11
Daily Notes Threat of 'Balkanised' Afghanistan	[DAWN 26 Aug]	12
Four Israeli 'Spies' Arrested in Peshawar	[THE NATION 18 Aug]	12

##### Internal Affairs

Prime Minister Said Hostile Toward Open Press	13	
Not Interested in Democracy	[THE NATION 21 Jul]	13
Favors Official Releases	[THE NATION 11 Jul]	14
Should Attempt Improvement	[THE FRONTIER POST 12 Jul]	15
National Leaders Claimed Divided Over Sindh Operation	[THE NATION 23 Jul]	15
Survey Shows Public Favors Sindh Operation	[TAKBEER 16 Jul]	17
Minister Rejects Bhutto Allegations About Court Cases	[Islamabad TV]	17
Newsmen Protest Curb on Publication of Bhutto Remarks	[THE FRONTIER POST 26 Aug]	18
Political Turmoil Seen as Threat to National Security	[JASARAT 19 Jul]	18
Ruling Party Meeting Criticizes Government Performance	[THE MUSLIM 27 Aug]	19
IJI's Coalition Partner MQM Financially Implicated	[THE MUSLIM 5 Aug]	19
Bhutto, PPP Urged To Befriend MQM	[THE MUSLIM 3 Aug]	20
Role of MQM in Society, Politics Analyzed	[JANG 18 Jul]	20
Move Against MQM Seen as Political Loss for Sharif	[AMN 19 Jul]	22
Consequences of Operation for MQM Viewed	24	
Muslim League Contests Seats	[THE NATION 29 Jul]	24
Disillusionment Reigns	[The NATION 25 Jul]	24
Torture Cells Revealed	[The NATION 28 Jul]	25
Leaders Not Cooperating	[The NATION 23 Jul]	26
Leadership Causing Downfall	[The NATION 27 Jul]	27
New Faction Emerges	[The NATION 20 Jul]	29
Still Commands Loyalty	[DAWN 29 Jul]	30
Hussain Leadership in Question	[DAWN 16 Jul]	32
Hussain Faces Arrest	[DAWN 20 Jul]	33
Hussain Still Giving Orders	[DAWN 20 Jul]	34
Judicial Decision Needed	[The MUSLIM 31 Jul]	35
PDA Demands Ishaq Khan's Immediate Resignation	[THE MUSLIM 18 Jul]	37
Valid Reasons for PDA Continuing Outlined	[THE MUSLIM 18 Jul]	37
Commentary Urges Creation of Additional Provinces	[JASARAT 20 Jul]	38

## ISLAMIC AFFAIRS

Sharif Seeks Enforcement of Islamic Law	[THE MUSLIM 3 Aug]	40
Sharif Islamization Policy Called 'Political Hoax'	[THE MUSLIM 4 Aug]	40
Shortcomings Seen in Iranian Islamic Model	[THE NATION 15 Jul]	41
Overcoming of Sectarianism Seen Pressing National Issue	[DAWN 16 Jul]	42
End of Shia-Sunni Clashes Called For	[ZINDAGI 18 Jul]	42

## ECONOMIC

Finance Minister Accused of Releasing False Statistics	[THE MUSLIM 2 Aug]	44
Solutions Suggested for Burgeoning National Debt	[DAWN 21 Jul]	45
Economic Development Seen Key to Reintegrating Mohajirs	[THE NATION 27 Jul]	46
Creation of New Jobs Seen Lagging Far Behind	[THE NATION 23 Jul]	47
New Trade Policy Seen Step in Right Direction	[THE NATION 16 Jul]	49
Privatisation Said To Cause Spiraling Bribery, Corruption	[THE MUSLIM 1 Aug]	50
Government Asked To Increase Currency Reserves	[THE NATION 29 Jul]	51
Population Explosion Said Thwarting Economic Development	[THE MUSLIM 31 Jul]	51
Threat to Economic Reforms Seen in Parliament	[THE NATION 29 Jul]	52
Agricultural Production Levels Said Decreasing	[THE MUSLIM 31 Jul]	52

## MILITARY

Sindhi, Balochi Quotas in Army Increased	[THE MUSLIM 10 Jul]	55
Sharif Authority Over Army Seen in Doubt	[JASARAT 18 Jul]	55
Steps Being Taken To End Kickbacks in Defense Deals	[THE MUSLIM 19 Aug]	55

## SOCIAL ISSUES

Government Accused of Absolute Neglect of Human Rights	[THE FRIDAY TIMES 16 Jul]	57
Plan To Modernize Telephone System Unveiled	[THE MUSLIM 31 Jul]	59

## International Affairs

### American Banning of Visas for Pakistanis Questioned

92AS1426C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English  
5 Aug 92 p 6

[Article by Shireen M. Mazari: "What Price Pakistani Citizenship's Dignity?"]

[Text] The recent U.S. embassy decision to ban the issuance of visas to all Pakistanis smacks once again of arbitrary high-handedness. The decision has been taken unilaterally and makes a mockery of the close "allied" relationship successive Pakistani governments have always claimed to have had with the U.S.A. The pretext given by the U.S. embassy in Islamabad refers to the "current political situation", but a more flimsy excuse for preventing Pakistanis from entering the United States cannot be found. Had such a decision been taken at the time of a prevalent dictatorship in the country, one could at least have understood it in terms of an American commitment to democracy. Given the fact that in any event the American embassy reserved the right to deny visas to any one whose motives were suspect in their eyes, it hardly seems necessary for them to take such drastic action merely because the present political uncertainty in Pakistan may increase the number of those seeking to leave the country on a permanent basis.

As it is, there is nothing in Pakistan's current political situation that is of a uniquely grave character and requires the ostracisation of Pakistani citizens by the United States or its allies. Therefore, the present decision of the U.S. embassy not only smacks of racism at the very least, but also has more serious political connotations. After all, this could be part of the U.S. effort to push the Pakistani ruling elite into a situation where there is domestic pressure to comply with American policy demands in critical issue-areas like the nuclear field. After all, there are numerous groups of citizens in Pakistan for whom American visas may seem imperative.

Thus, where denial of military spares and economic assistance may not hit them at a personal level, denial of an opportunity to visit the United States will definitely hit home. Of course, when these groups include influential segments of the ruling elite and their families—such as students returning to American colleges/universities—pressure to comply with the American political agenda may well increase.

Of course, in the final analysis, it is the right of the American government to act arbitrarily if they so desire—ignoring the norms of diplomacy and the principle of reciprocity underlying inter-state relations. So it is up to the Pakistani government to respond in kind if it is to uphold the dignity of its nation and the green passport.

Although the Pakistani government may find this painful, given their penchant for appeasing the U.S.A., it needs to respond in kind if it is to prevent the abuse of its citizens. The present government has at least taken one correct step in this issue-area of visa regulations by insisting that all foreign nationals—regardless of their origins—acquire visas in order to visit Pakistan. The hue and cry of foreign nationals of Pakistani origin notwithstanding, this is the first firm stand a Pakistani government has taken on this issue. After all, if one is not willing to stand by his Pakistani citizenship, with all its incumbent obligations and disadvantages, one should not expect to enjoy whatever privileges that citizenship may offer. A similarly principled and reciprocal action is required with regard to the latest American embassy action.

Otherwise, a number of racist-oriented states will feel free to give vent to their latent desire to keep out Pakistanis completely from their territories. Even at present, the hostility shown towards the green passport is legendary. A Pakistani with the innocent desire of travelling for a vacation overseas has to reveal his whole family history including family finances—not just his own—on the off-chance that he may be granted a visitor's visa.

Of course, the Japanese and the Europeans, with the exception of the British, assume that the right of vacationing abroad does not belong to the Pakistanis. In other words, while numerous Japanese, Germans, Frenchmen and Swedes—to name just a few—feel they have a right to visit Pakistan for a vacation, no Pakistani is expected to have any such desire. In fact, the diplomats working in the consular offices of embassies like France, Japan and Germany feel an inherent necessity to be as offensive as they possibly can to all Pakistanis having the misfortune to visit them for a visa. Perhaps, they feel that this is one sure way of asserting their racial superiority over the coloureds! To make matters worse, they use Pakistani citizens to carry out their racist designs. This not only makes the insult more severe for the recipient Pakistani, it enhances the foreigners' belief that Pakistanis lack a basic respect for their own kind.

The worst offenders seem to be the Germans, not only through their consulates but also at German airports where even Pakistanis in transit—and with no intentions of going beyond the airport—are cross-examined interminably till they almost begin to feel there must be something wrong with them. If a Pakistani wants to experience at a micro level what fascism was all about in Europe, he only has to visit Frankfurt airport in transit and he will understand the spirit behind Nazism. While changing from one international flight to another, the holder of a Pakistani passport on German territory will be suspected of being an Islamic "revolutionary", an illegal migrant, a drug smuggler and numerous other negative ilks in a similar fashion.

It is of course not just the Europeans and the Japanese that deal with Pakistanis in such an arbitrarily

demeaning manner. Our Muslim brotherly states like Saudi Arabia and the U.A.E. are no better. To find out the numerous levels of degradation to which they have subjected Pakistani citizens, one only needs to ask any returning Pakistani—especially returning migrant workers. Yet, in Pakistan, no Saudi or U.A.E. citizen dare be subjected to such a reciprocal treatment.

While political or economic dependency is often cited as the pretext for allowing foreign governments to abuse Pakistani citizens, in reality it is the vested interests of the Pakistani ruling elite that allows these governments to mistreat the average Pakistani. After all, many of the ruling elite's offsprings require foreign education, scholarships and/or jobs, and members of the ruling elite themselves require retirement havens or political refuge! After all, merely because the Japanese and the Americans may be giving the state of Pakistan economic or military assistance is no reason for the governments of these states to abuse the dignity of Pakistani citizenship.

Interestingly enough, the issue of free movement of peoples is now on the agenda of the GATT with the issue of trade in services. It was unfortunate that at the start of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade talks, Pakistan abandoned the G-77 position on trade in services and sided with the U.S. position. Since the issue continues to remain unresolved, perhaps it is time the present Pakistan government re-examined the position on the services trade adopted by its predecessors. Surely, upholding the dignity of its citizenship is one of the prime responsibilities of the state.

#### **U.S Accusation on Support of Terrorism Viewed With Alarm**

*92AS01367C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu  
14 Jul 92 p 10*

[Editorial: "Pakistan: A New American Threat to Declare it Terrorist"]

[Text] Mrs. Teresita Schaffer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the NESA Affairs Bureau, U.S. Department of State, has hinted that if Pakistan does not stop aiding the terrorists of Kashmir and Punjab, then in addition to the restrictions imposed under the Pressler Amendment, more restrictions will be levied to stop terrorism. The new era of good relations between India and the United States of America that began recently is visible in many aspects. Until yesterday, India was a friend and defense partner of the former Soviet Union. As a favorite friend, it used to toot its horn about its nonaligned policy whenever it had the opportunity to do so. It also opposed all U.S. policies. However, now that the Soviet Union has fallen, it has found a place in the lap of the United States. It seems to be willing to win U.S. goodwill at any cost. The United States of America and India have also carried out joint naval exercises, and U.S. generals have also visited the disputed region of Siachen. India has also become the country receiving the most aid from the United States of America. It has accepted the Kashmiri

people's right to self-determination and is required to follow the formula agreed upon for the division of the subcontinent and the UN resolutions. During the last 44 years, however, it has not shown a willingness to let the Kashmiri people decide their own future. It has adopted an attitude of stubbornness and of making excuses. If, under the pressure of the United States of America and other powerful nations, India is forced to discuss the Kashmir issue, but it declares Kashmir an integral part of India and refuses to discuss this issue, then this issue is in limbo, and over 10 million Kashmiris are being deprived of their basic rights.

Pakistan supports Kashmir in dividing the subcontinent as well as on the UN resolutions. It has the right to help the Kashmiri people morally and materially, so that through a referendum, Kashmir will be able to decide its future. The UN member countries and India itself have agreed that Pakistan has the historical and moral responsibility to provide all kinds of assistance to the Kashmiri people and to help them rid themselves of Indian clutches. However, it is our misfortune that in spite of being allies, we are not in a position to do anything, because of the problems in our own country. That is why the Pakistani people have demanded for a long time that material and moral support be provided to the Kashmiri people. It is unfortunate that because of diplomatic and other weaknesses, the Pakistani Government is unable to help the Kashmiri mujaheddin. Even the Kashmiri people complain about it. Meanwhile, the slyness and deceptiveness of India are such that Pakistan's present weakness and procrastination make it appear to be a criminal and the cause of Kashmiris' dying. The United States of America and other countries have the impression that the struggle in Kashmir is entirely of Pakistan's doing. Actually, India is using this strategy to divert attention from the atrocities being committed by Indian armed forces in the valley.

The atrocities the Indian army is committing on Muslims in the valley to discourage them from their struggles to annex Kashmir with Pakistan have been criticized loudly by international human rights organizations. The worst part of it is that India has indirectly admitted to its condemnable role in Kashmir by banning entry of the media to Kashmir. It is afraid that the news media will give it much worse notoriety at the international level. Two prominent U.S. Congressmen revealed recently that three years ago they had requested that the Indian ambassador in Washington arrange for a visit by U.S. lawmakers to Kashmir so that they could inspect the human rights situation and the freedom struggle of the Kashmiri people. The ambassador has not yet responded to this request. This proves that India wants to hide its activities from the eyes of the international community. These U.S. Congressmen have loudly repeated that, on principle, India cannot be given the opportunity to become superior to Pakistan. The United States of America has declared itself a champion of human rights and peace in the whole world. Its silence over Indian atrocities in occupied Kashmir is deplorable. It neither

expresses concern over the atrocities being committed on the Kashmiri people, nor is it worried about the situation in Kashmir that could erupt into a war any time. Instead, it is putting pressure on Pakistan to accept India's supremacy. Mrs. Teresita Schaffer's latest threat is a part of this chain of events. The United States knows well that Pakistan is not helping the Kashmiri people as much as it ought to and as much as the Kashmiri people deserve. As for the problem of East Punjab, how can a country which is unable to help the citizens of the same religion according to the UN resolutions, help the terrorists in East Pakistan? And what will it gain from it?

As a nation we should be prepared to refute threats by some members of the U.S. administration who accuse Pakistan of being a terrorist country. Calling a country—which is suffering from many internal problems; has been a target of terrorist activities by the KGB, KHAD [Afghan intelligence agency], and RA [Indian intelligence agency]; have terrorists running around its length and breadth; where the lives of citizens are deprived of law and order; and has been a U.S. ally for years and provided historical help to the United States to eradicate communism—a terrorist nation is not without reasons. These accusations cannot be countered by ceremonial statements and assurances. The United States, of course, should exhibit some realistic understanding and should not go to extremes to make India happy. At the same time, we should be prepared to face this situation by erudite planning. If possible, we should bring this situation to the attention of the Muslim world and take some collaborative action. Otherwise, all Islamic nations will be sacrificed on the alter of the new world order!

#### **Country Hit by Democrat's Congressional 'Onslaught'**

*BK1008112392 Islamabad THE NATION in English  
10 Aug 92 p 6*

[Editorial: "Lobbying in Washington"]

[Text] The Democratic Party dominated US Congress has once again launched a campaign to stop all military supplies to Pakistan. Senator Larry Pressler, the author of the uniquely discriminatory Pressler Amendment against this country, and some of his colleagues in the Congress have stepped up their pressure on the Bush Administration to keep it from making even the currently operative commercial sales of military equipment spare parts to this country. Hopefully, the Administration will succeed in its efforts to find a way around the Congress demand for full enforcement of the Amendment and not much harm will be done to this country's defense preparedness due to lack of spare parts for its vital weaponry.

Whatever the motive behind the Democratic onslaught against Pakistan, it is clear that our diplomatic mission in Washington has not done much to save the situation from getting this bad. The Democratic offensive against Pakistan had been in the works for quite some time.

Senators Larry Pressler and John Glenn had been threatening to pursue stoppage of the commercial sales for a long time. Anyone familiar with American political system would have known that under the circumstances lobbying was the only tool that could still have some restraining effect on the aggressively anti-Pakistan Democratic members of the Congress. But our Washington diplomats, our largest diplomatic presence anywhere in the world, failed to do what was required of them even though the country's case did have a lot of substance. In all probability, a right approach to the Congress leaders could have achieved at least some success in convincing them about the lack of wisdom in singling out Pakistan for punishment on account of its alleged nuclear programme while certain other countries, including India, inspite of their not so secret nuclear programmes were given a clean bill of health. The government back home also seems to have neglected the importance of lobbying in the US system. As late as it is now, it should still explore all avenues to control the damage done by the Pressler Amendment to the country's defence needs, even if it means crossing the partisan lines and requesting Ms Benazir Bhutto, who happens to have plenty of good will and connections in influential quarters in the US, to help this country evade discriminatory treatment at the hands of some unfriendly Congressmen and Senators. Domestic political quarrels must not be allowed to clash with considerations of higher national interest.

#### **PRC To Give 2 More Squadrons of F-7P Fighter Planes**

*BK2508094992 Islamabad THE PAKISTAN TIMES  
in English 25 Aug 92 p 10*

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Aug 24—China will deliver two more squadrons of F-7P fighter aircraft to Pakistan next year.

Informed sources said that the Chinese experts are currently working on a project to upgrade the aircraft in order to enhance its working as required by the PAF [Pakistan Air Force].

Responding to a question, the sources said that the delivery of the aircraft will be completed during the next year. In view of excellent relations Pakistan enjoys with China, there is no question of delay in the supply of the aircraft which will considerably increase air power of the PAF.

Replying to another question, the sources said that the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, General Shamim Alam, who is currently paying an official visit to China, may discuss matters relating to the prompt delivery of the F-7Ps to Pakistan Air Force.

It may be recalled that Pakistan Air Force is presently having six squadrons of the Chinese made F-7Ps.

## Regional Affairs

### Analyst Sees Discord, Drift in Relations With Iran

92ASI420E Lahore *THE NATION* in English 26 Jul 92 p 6

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "The Drift in Pakistan-Iran Relations"; italicized words as published]

[Text] On August 1, the annual meeting of the Pakistan-Iran Joint Ministerial Commission will meet in Islamabad, with an Iranian delegation headed by the Minister for Roads and Transportation. At the end of August, the Iranian Foreign Minister, Dr. Ali Akbar Velayati, will also arrive in Islamabad for the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO) ministerial meeting, which, this time around, will include Afghanistan as well, apart from all the Muslim Central Asian states.

These bilateral and multilateral discussions in economic and political areas will be held on the context of the most sweeping changes to affect the region since the Islamic Revolution in Iran, particularly the emergence of Islamic Central Asia, the *mujahideen* victory in Afghanistan and the establishment of ECO as a new economic bloc incorporating 10 Muslim countries of the region with a population of 300 million.

Despite these qualitative changes in the region in which both Pakistan and Iran are located, relations between the two Muslim countries are characterised by a sense of drift, a lack of coordination on vital areas like Afghanistan, and absence of substance in the economic sphere plus a general ambience of mutual suspicion. Probably, it would not be too wide off the mark to suggest that these relations have never been so adrift since the last 7 years when relations saw an upswing with the visit in February 1986 of President Ayed Ali Khamenei, during the course of which he received a warm welcome from his host, president Ziaul Haq.

Why this sense of drift, particularly when the last coordination meeting of the national security bureaucracy, which includes the Services Chiefs, the Intelligence and the Foreign Office, at its last monthly meeting at the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee Headquarters in Rawalpindi on July 14 agreed on the need for closer ties with neighbouring Iran? And earlier this month, the visiting Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister, Allaoudin Bourejerdi, who came to prepare the agenda for the ECO meet, made it a point to visit Lahore and call on the Jamaat-i-Islami Chief, Qazi Hussain Ahmed, at his headquarters at Mansuora. In another similar attempt to bridge the political divide in Afghanistan, the Iranian special envoy, Mir Mahmud Musavi, led a special delegation which called on the Hezb-e-Eslami Chief, Golboddin Hekmatyar.

Historically, the Khamenei visit was a watershed event in Pakistan-Iran relations and, as a result, a close rapport was established between the two countries and their

leaders. Although Pakistan, like the overwhelming majority of Muslim countries, failed to take a moral, upright and principled position on the Iran-Iraq wars, since Iraq's aggression and occupation of Iranian territory was never publicly condemned, a pro-Iran tilt was nevertheless discernible in Pakistani attitudes on that war which was marked in 1987 by the Pakistani refusal to allow American warships to have port calls at Karachi and the April 1988 unofficial International Islamic Conference at Islamabad, which General Zia inaugurated, at which Iraq was branded as an aggressor in the war against Iran. As a consequence, Iraq cancelled a meeting of its Joint Ministerial Commission with Pakistan, Baghdad also refused to accept the credentials of a new Pakistani Ambassador and Saudi Arabia failed to renew the agreement for the some 15,000 Pakistani troops that were stationed in that country. It was around the same time that the concept of "strategic consensus" between Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan emanated from within the Pakistan Army, thereby underlining a strategic linkage between Pakistan and its Muslim neighbours.

Given this context, it is unfortunate that relations between Pakistan and Iran have been characterised by this drift. There are three issues which are currently responsible for this dip in bilateral ties. First, there is the divergence on Afghanistan over which both sides have their respective complaints. Pakistani officialdom feels that Iran has been peddling a political agenda in Afghanistan which is based on building a constituency among the ethnic and sectarian minorities in Afghanistan, in effect, pursuing a line that some officials term as being "divisive."

Conversely, Iran feels that Pakistan, in a reversal of the 1991 Tripartite Dialogue involving Pakistan, Iran and the Afghan *mujahideen*, ignored or bypassed Iran during the crucial phase of the Afghan situation and carried along Saudi Arabia to the exclusion of Iran, particularly on April 24 when the Peshawar Accord was hammered out in the presence of Saudi officials and on April 29, when the Saudi Chief of Intelligence, prince Turki al-Faysal, was the only foreign official accompanying Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to Kabul. And somehow, for some inexplicable reason, the pro-Iranian Hezb-e Wahdat was excluded from any share in government under the terms of the Peshawar Accord, a disturbing development from the perspective of Iran, which was later rectified by president Sibghatullah Mojaddedi when he gave the Hezb-e Wahdat three cabinet positions and eight seats in the Jihad Council. [sentence as published]

The second point of discord between Pakistan-Iran relations is the border between Pakistan and Iran, where Iran has serious complaints of incursions from the Pakistani side of "armed gangs of smugglers, anti-social elements, and counterrevolutionaries." According to Iranian officials, 200 soldiers of the Iranian border security forces were killed in armed clashes with such elements who apparently came from across the border and then fled back into Pakistan which is where they are said to be

permanently located. Of these 200 Iranian casualties, 85 soldiers died in one armed clash alone during December 1991. Then earlier this month, 42 Iranian soldiers, including 12 officers, were kidnapped by the same armed gangs which are said to operate from within and apparently took their captives to Pakistan. The Iranians complain that, so far, these 42 captives have neither been recovered nor has any information been made available about their whereabouts. In fact, one senior Iranian official went to the extent of terming these developments on the border as a "virtual unofficial war," although there is no official Pakistan involvement in these clashes but since these "armed gangs of smugglers, anti-social elements and counterrevolutionaries" are based in Pakistan, the Iranians feel that the Pakistani side is not doing enough to crack down on these elements. More so, because in June 1991, the Joint border commission between the two countries, in its meeting in Zahedan, had agreed on the extradition of wanted dissidents by either side.

The third problem in the bilateral relationship that has cropped up is on the sectarian front with Shia-Sunni friction in Pakistan having a resonance on Pakistan-Iran relations as well, particularly when anti-Shia sentiments are often laced with a strong anti-Iran tinge as well. The sectarian issue also resulted in an Iranian diplomat being killed in Lahore last year. It is time that this issue of sectarianism in Pakistan should be taken seriously since it is already having adverse repercussions on Pakistan-Iran relations. It is perhaps no accident that a number of Indian writers have now publicly started pinning their hopes on sectarianism as an element of internal destabilisation for Pakistan, and as a factor for disturbing Pakistan's relations with Iran as well.

This drift and discord in bilateral relations needs to be stemmed with effective steps and serious thinking on policy issues at the highest level of the government. This drift is caused more by default than design since all sections of Pakistani officialdom are in agreement that relations with Iran are vital for Pakistan's national security. Like Pakistan's ties with China, the Iran connection is also a strategic one, covering Pakistan's western flanks and it has been a source of strength for Pakistan during the wars with India, particularly in 1965 and 1971. Even on issues like Kashmir, the nuclear question or Muslim minorities in India, Iran has been the first to come out with a very forthright expression of solidarity, a stance which is both unambiguous and principled.

It may not be out of place to mention that in the last eight weeks, hectic Indian diplomacy in our vicinity, has been evident with the Indian President going to China in late May, while this month has seen the Prime Minister of Bangladesh and the Foreign Minister of Iran visiting New Delhi. It is high time that the government seeks to set the foreign Office in order, so that infighting in the "Foreign Office troika" gives way to serious thinking on

issues rather than a drift that can be dangerous to national security, as is evident in the case of Iran.

#### Egypt's Qualification To Mediate Questioned

92AS1426D Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English  
5 Aug 92 p 7

[Article by B. S. Taj: "Hosni Mubarak's Proposed Visit to Pakistan"]

[Text] Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak is planning to visit Pakistan with a mission impossible to be accomplished by mediating between Pakistan and India. Apparently, the objective of the visit is to convince the two countries to sign a Camp David-like agreement that would find a "just and lasting settlement of the Kashmir issue and to avert a devastating war that could cripple the two countries". Evidently, the mission of Mr Mubarak is noble and should be motivated by his deep sense of "concern" on the state of the Kashmiri Muslims being ruthlessly massacred by the Indian forces. Additionally, Mubarak is indebted to Pakistan for courageously advocating the cause of Mubarak's Egypt in the OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] summit conference which ultimately re-admitted Cairo to its fold. Besides, Mubarak must be influenced by the slogan of "Islamic solidarity" and "unity of the Muslim Ummah."

Given the important role of Egypt and the popularity of Hosni Mubarak in the U.S.-conceived New World Order, our decision-makers seem to be very eager to receive him in Islamabad. However certain difficulties arise. To start with, Egypt is a secular country where Islamic parties are banned according to the regime's constitution. Since India is another secular state and shares with Cairo the distinction of suppressing the Muslims, Egypt has always felt comfortable in its relations with New Delhi. Thus Egyptian mediation should be more acceptable to the Indians than that of any other party. Insofar as Americans are concerned, Mubarak is again a perfect choice for mediation for various reasons. Firstly Egypt itself is a signatory of Camp David accords with Israel and the only Arab state which enjoys cordial relations with the Jewish state. The amity of ties between Cairo and Tel Aviv has recently been demonstrated by Rabin's visit to Cairo.

Secondly, the Egyptian regime is being used very effectively to impose surrender on other Arab regimes and many Camp Davids are expected to be signed very soon under the umbrella of "peace process."

Thirdly, the Egyptian regime played a pioneering role in supplying the "moderate" Afghan Mujahideen with weapons that enabled them to defeat the "Empire of Evil" and ultimate emergence of the U.S. as a sole superpower. Outstandingly, Mubarak's regime "refrained" from supplying similar financial and military aid to the Palestinians and Kashmiris since no "moderate elements" are found or trusted among them to advance the American cause. Thus the way is paved for the Jewish Israeli and Hindu India to let loose a wave of terror and genocide against the Palestinians and

Kashmiris, respectively. Fourthly, the Egyptian regime is the second pillar of the U.S. in the Middle East after the Jewish state. This is indicative of the huge U.S. military and economic aid to Egypt of 2.3 billion dollars annually, only second after Israel which receives 3 billion dollars of similar aid a year. Obviously this generous aid is given to Egypt with a view to enabling the regime to play the American military role in the region. This is so because the Camp David accords with Israel have completely neutralised the Egyptian army and rendered it impotent in any Arab-Israeli war. Even before the Desert Storm Operation that destroyed Iraq, the Egyptian army had a series of military manoeuvres with the American troops particularly that of "Bright Star". Military experts used to wonder as to why this military exercise in the Egyptian desert? Subsequent events, however, unveiled the secret plan in the Desert Storm Operation in which both the Egyptian army and U.S. forces participated and demonstrated beyond any shadow of doubt the real objective of "Bright Star" manoeuvres.

Interestingly, at the time when "Bright Star" was in full swing, Egypt was supposed to be a loyal ally of Iraq in the Arab Cooperation Council (ACC). This only reinforces the military strategists' theory that Mubarak played a double game with Iraq and had his share of the American deception plan that trapped Iraq in Kuwait for the well conceived "kill" of not only Iraqi military might but also that of economic infrastructure. The price Mubarak received for this dubious game has been writing off of 26 billion dollars of Egypt's foreign debts estimated at over 50 billion dollars.

While the Egyptian regime was in a state of euphoria, having delivered the goods in the form of the destruction of Iraq, its conscience was never moved for the genocide of the innocent Iraqi people. Hundreds of thousands of civilians were killed in the Desert Storm Operation. Such massacre was highlighted by human rights organisation despite U.S. curbs on the foreign press which made it possible to put a thick veil that blocked the view of the actual casualties and wide-ranging destruction of Iraq.

U.S.-led coalition took a deliberate decision to ignore taking feasible measures to avoid the massacre of the Iraqi civilians. The U.S. resorted to daytime bombing of urban areas near markets or busy thoroughfares where many civilians can be expected to be found. According to the pentagon, precision-guided bombs accounted only 7,400 of the 842,000 tons of munitions dropped by the allies on Iraq during Desert Storm Operation.

The allies had even used unguided bombs or "dumb iron bombs" that played havoc with the lives and properties of the Iraqi civilians. These dumb bombs were liberally dropped in populated urban areas in total violation of not only the Geneva Convention but the very rules of engagement of the U.S. Army. Even air-raid shelters were not spared as in the case of bombing and destroying Ameriyya air raid shelter in Baghdad that killed hundreds of civilians, mainly women and children.

The hatred against the Iraqi people is illustrated by the targets of attack carefully selected by the allies. This included food stores, agriculture and water-treatment facilities. The electric system was crippled. The allies destroyed, for example, four of Iraq's five hydroelectric facilities. In no time, Iraq was transformed from a modern energy-dependent society into the pre-industrial age. The U.N. embargo was exacerbated by the lack of refrigeration and impairment of Iraq's highly mechanised irrigation-based agriculture. Electricity dependent water purification and sewage treatment facilities were crippled, creating health hazards. Poor hygiene, contaminated water and poor diet caused the death of tens of thousands of civilians, mainly children, according to the UNICEF report.

Strangely enough, U.S. Air Force officials involved in planning the air war had indicated that one purpose of destroying the electricity system was to harm civilians and thus encourage them to overthrow Saddam Hussain! According to *Middle East Watch* attacks were also centred on Bedouin tents, public buildings, residential areas, hotels, bridges, hospitals, medical clinics, restaurants, commercial buildings, market areas and even mosques. And in most cases of the attacks there had never been any conceivable military targets in the vicinity that might have justified the attacks, clearly suggesting that the attacks have been indiscriminate and falsify the U.S. image of a clean bombing. And yet the price received by the Egyptian regime for this destruction, massacre, miseries and atrocities was a meagre 26 billion dollars, each dollar smelling of death and nothing but death.

With this background, it is pertinent to ask our decision-makers if they continue to trust the Egyptian regime and its mediation to impose on Pakistan another Camp David-like surrender that would ultimately compromise our nuclear programme, the Kashmir issue and Pakistan's armed forces?

#### **JKLF Leader Speaks Out on Plans in Kashmir**

92AS1317A Lahore THE NATION in English 21 Jul 92  
p 7

[Article by Amanullah Khan: "Kashmir—Yet Another Golden Opportunity Being Lost"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Pakistan has lost over half a dozen golden opportunities to have Kashmir or to solve the issue equitably. The main reason behind it has been that, almost each opportunity has been subjected to the whims and vagaries or personal interests of certain influential individuals in the government. The first such opportunity came when in 1948 the then influential Deputy Prime Minister of India, Late V. B. Patel, offered that if Pakistan took her hands off the State of Hyderabad (Deccan)—now called Andhra-Pradesh State), India would let Pakistan have Jammu Kashmir State. Pakistan was then advocating complete independence for Hyderabad and had even raised the issue at the United

Nations. But an influential personality in Pakistan government got the offer turned down as he had personal interests in Hyderabad. And it was not long before India annexed Hyderabad through a 'police action' retaining the bulk of Jammu Kashmir State as well. This story is often referred to by Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan, the then President of Azad Kashmir. Had the then government of Pakistan accepted the offer, the history of Pakistan would have been quite different.

The present Government of Pakistan is committing a similar folly by disallowing the "Jammu Kashmir Qaumi (National) Conference (JKQC)" just because the 'Murshid' (spiritual Guide) of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan namely Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan, the present Prime Minister of Azad Kashmir, opposed it whereas the Conference offers a golden opportunity, as it can go a long way in solving the Kashmir issue peacefully, equitably and permanently. (Mian Nawaz Sharif called Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan as his Murshid during his speech at Muzaffarabad early this year). Sardar Abdul Qayyum opposes the Conference because the credit for the Conference and its success, as he thinks, will go to JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front] and more importantly, because after the solution of the Kashmir issue, Sardar Sahib will lose both his present official status and political stature and for some other personal reasons as well.

The Jammu Kashmir Qaumi Conference (JKQC) convened by Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) was to be held at Rawlakot in Azad Kashmir originally from July 1-3, 1992. It was to be attended by 200 notables belonging to all regions, religions and political factions of both Indian and Pakistani controlled parts of Jammu Kashmir State. But on the request of a number of invitees from Indian-held Kashmir (IHK) who did not have passports and could not obtain them before the dates fixed for the Conference, we deferred the Conference to August 24-26, 1992.

The purpose of the Conference, as mentioned in the invitation cards and also in my joint letter, dated June 1, 1992 to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan, is that these notables who include political thinkers and workers, senior journalists and intellectuals, would meet and through thorough discussions, evolve a practicable formula to solve Kashmir issue peacefully, on the basis of wishes and aspirations of Kashmiri people and without jeopardising the legitimate rights of India and Pakistan on the issue. This formula would then be presented, we have in mind, to Pakistan, India and international community specially the United Nations for consideration and implementation. As such, one can say with confidence that this Conference could go a long way in solving the issue peacefully and to the maximum possible satisfaction of all parties to the issue.

While JKLF was busy making necessary arrangements for the Conference, Sardar Abdul Qayyum initiated a campaign against the Conference, starting with Press statements drawing a dread some picture of the matters

relating to and purpose of the Conference. This campaign was based on unfounded allegations and white lies specially about invitees from IHK, such as all of them are anti-Pakistan non-Muslims, that none of them had anything to do with liberation movement, whereas the fact is that only 41 out of 130 invitees from IHK were non-Muslims and that a big number of these invitees including a few non-Muslims have suffered a lot, including undergoing long and short-term imprisonments for their involvements in the freedom struggle or peaceful solution of Kashmir issue.

Towards the third week of June, Sardar Abdul Qayyum called a meeting of some officials of Pakistan government and Mehtab Khan Abbasi, Pakistan's Minister for Kashmir Affairs who is one of his relatives and a personal friend (and whom Sardar Sahib had compelled to make a baseless statement in the Parliament about incidents during JKLF's attempt to cross the ceasefire-line on February 12, 1992 and the statement had made Pakistan a laughing stock on international level). This meeting, held in Kashmir House in Islamabad, came to the conclusion, on the basis of Sardar Abdul Qayyum's briefing, that JKQC was against the national interests of Pakistan and of Kashmiris and would be more dangerous if it is held in Azad Kashmir. It was therefore decided that the Conference be disallowed and if necessary, JKLF be banned and its Chairman Amanullah Khan taken into 'protective custody.' Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif approved this decision after a summary briefing and without making proper inquiry about the authenticity of the grounds on which the decision was taken.

On June 26, a spokesman of Indian Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that any of invitees from IHK responding positively to the invitation would be violating law and would hence be punished under law, arguing that JKLF, the sponsor of the Conference, was a 'terrorist' and 'unlawful' organisation and that its Chief Amanullah Khan was a 'criminal' wanted in India in several 'crimes.' He also dubbed the Conference as a propaganda stunt by JKLF which, in case of its success, would be used against India. The tone, arguments and language of Indian spokesman were no different from those of the governments of former colonial powers against freedom movements and leaders of their colonies.

On June 28, a Press conference by Sardar Abdul Qayyum was followed by a statement issued by an official spokesman of the Government of Pakistan. Terming JKLF as an 'evil,' Sardar Sahib alleged that it was a terrorist organisation and would be banned if it tried to hold its planned Conference in Azad Kashmir.

The Government of Pakistan, its spokesman said, has disallowed the JKQC as it was a 'treacherous attempt' to deflect the attention of the world from the freedom struggle going on in IHK. Other reasons given for disallowing the Conference were, that it was an attempt by JKLF to regain its prestige lost due to two abortive

attempts to cross the Ceasefire-line, that the Conference was co-sponsored by Prof. Bhim Singh, Chairman of the Panthers Party of India and well-known for his anti-Pakistani stand, that one of the militant organisations had been invited to the Conference including JKLF's own IHK wing nor was that wing interested in the Conference, that none of the prominent leaders of IHK including Justice Bahau-din Farooqi, Abdul Ghani Lone, Prof. Abdul Ghani, Syed Ali Shah Gilani and Mirwaiz Umar Farooq had agreed to participate in the Conference, that neither the Government of Azad Kashmir nor of Pakistan was taken into confidence about the Conference and that there was no reference to the right of self-determination of Kashmiri people as envisaged in the U.N. resolutions. These arguments given in support of the decision were published in some national newspapers in the shape of an article by an 'ex-diplomat' and titled "What is Amanullah Khan After?"

Most of these grounds and reasons are given for disallowing the Conference are intended to misrepresentation of facts. Let us see how:

The JKQC will not deflect but intensify the attention of the world towards the Kashmir issue. Everybody, except those blinded by self-centered appreciation of events, accepts the fact that two attempts by JKLF to cross the ceasefire-line had strongly popularised the organisation at home and projected it high on the international level and not degraded it. Prof. Bhim Singh is not a co-sponsor of the Conference as can be seen from invitation cards. His Panthers Party is not an Indian but a Kashmiri political party and he was a member of IHK legislative assembly. He is not an enemy of Pakistan too. Had he been so, he would have not contradicted a recent baseless allegation levelled by an Indian news agency against Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi. Besides, he would have not hosted a farewell party to the retiring Pakistan High Commissioner, Mr. Abdul Sattar on July 6, 1992 nor would he have the latter agreed to attend it. As such this argument too is totally baseless. No militant leader of any militant organisation was invited due only to practical difficulties. Instead the leaders of the political wings of these organisations were invited. It is also wrong to say that even the II K wing of JKLF was not invited and that nor was that wing interested in the Conference. The names of invitees of IHK Wing of JKLF are given in the list of the invitees circulated to the Press on June 9, 1992. The IHK Wing of JKLF is fully involved in the Conference and has contradicted Pakistan governments allegations. The argument that none of the prominent leaders of IHK had agreed to participate in the Conference is belied by the fact that 50 passports and applications for passports had been sent to New Delhi including the passport of Abdul Ghani Lone for obtaining Pakistan visa. Justice Farooqi and Mirwaiz Umar Farooq has asked for the postponement of the Conference. Nor had Syed Ali Shah Gilani or Prof. Abdul Ghani made any public statement refusing to attend the Conference. We had informed the Prime

Minister of Pakistan about the Conference one month before the Conference was originally scheduled to be held. We had made a telegraphic request to the President of Pakistan on June 17 for audience so that we could explain the benefits of and other matters related to the Conference but got no response. As for the allegation that no mention of Kashmiris' right of self-determination was made in the invitation card, suffice it to say that the purpose of the conference as mentioned above and explained in the invitation cards fully rebuts the allegation. All these facts fully belie the contentions of the Government of Pakistan on which it has based its decision to disallow the Conference.

There was enormous enthusiasm among the people in general and invitees of IHK in particular about the Conference. We received very encouraging letters even from some non-Muslim invitees. A number of some prominent leaders, besides Syed Salah-ud-Din, the Chief of Hizbul-Mujahideen, JKLF's main ideological opponent in IHK, appreciated the idea of JKQC during their interviews with the Voice of America. The people of Azad Kashmir were only very enthusiastic about it although heads of political parties, excluding Sardar Qayyum and General Hayat Khan have neither supported nor opposed it so far. The Conference of Kashmiri political thinkers, senior journalists, writers, intellectuals and lawyers held in Islamabad on June 19, 1992 under the auspices of JKLF, unanimously opined through a resolution that JKQC was the need of the day and could go a long way in bringing about a peaceful and equitable settlement of Kashmir issue.

In the light of importance and expected fruitful results of the proposed JKQC, the Government of Pakistan should have considered all its pros and cons thoroughly preferably in a Cabinet meeting and ensured the authenticity of the grounds of which Sardar Qayyum had recommended it to be disallowed before itself taking a decision. Instead, Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif, Prime Minister of Pakistan, gave summary verdict of disallowing the Conference just to please his 'Murshid.' As such yet another golden opportunity to solve the Kashmir issue peacefully and equitably, thereby ridding the Subcontinent of the cancer that has been eating into its vitals during the last 45 years, was sacrificed at the altar of personal gratification of an individual. By this most unwise action the Pakistan government has not only lost a golden opportunity but has also brought Pakistan at par with India on Kashmir in the eyes of Kashmiri people who may not be very wrong now to think that Pakistan, like India, is interested only in proprietorship of Kashmir and not in the wishes and aspirations of Kashmiris and that Pakistan also treats them as dumb-driven cattle.

Despite the abovementioned unfortunate attitude of the governments of India and Pakistan, we appeal to them once more to facilitate the proposed JKQC so that notables from all regions, religions and political factions of the entire Jammu Kashmir State could meet and evolve a practicable formula for a peaceful and equitable

settlement of Kashmir issue, which, besides keeping 13 million Kashmiris deprived of the most basic of their human rights, i.e., their right of self-determination once even pledged to them by India, Pakistan and the U.N., have cost tens of thousands of human lives during the last four years alone, and poses a serious and continuous threat to peace in the region. We also appeal to the people, the political parties and the media of India and Pakistan to pressurise their respective governments to allow and facilitate the Jammu Kashmir Qaumi Conference (JKQC) to be held on its scheduled date and place, i.e., August 24-26, 1992 at Rawlakot and to announce their decision at their earliest.

#### **DAWN Wants Settlement on Siachen in Oct Talks**

*BK2508100592 Karachi DAWN in English 25 Aug 92 p 11*

[Editorial: "Getting Siachen Out of the Way"]

[Text] If Pakistan and India make some headway on the Siachen dispute when their defence secretaries take up the issue later this year in October, some of the tension prevailing between them will ease and the outlook for tackling other issues will improve. Of all the issues that bedevil their relations, none is more insane (there is no other word for it) than the Siachen dispute. At enormous expense, both armies are struggling to maintain their toehold in one of the world's most inhospitable terrains. There is no material or even strategic advantage to be gained at those heights. It is only national pride that is sustaining this conflict. Without wishing to score any points, it must be said that India, as the country which embarked on the adventure of upsetting the status quo on the Siachen glacier in 1984, bears the onus for this suicidal dispute. In 1989 both countries were close to an agreement envisaging a mutual withdrawal of troops from the glacier. The then Pakistan foreign secretary, in the presence of his Indian counterpart, said as much after the conclusion of their talks in mid-1989. But on the Indian foreign secretary's return to New Delhi, India did an about face and backed out from its commitment. If the thread can be picked up from there, a mutually satisfactory solution might still be within reach.

At all events, both countries must keep talking so as to widen the areas of their understanding. A needless dispute has arisen in Pakistan about the Indian invitation to Pakistan's Chief of the Army Staff to visit India. The foreign secretary says the invitation is with him. GHQ [General Headquarters] says it has received nothing of the sort and that in any case it is for the government to take a decision in the matter. Pakistan should be able to look at this issue coolly without being swayed in its decision by emotional factors. If some good can come out of it, there is no harm in the army chief paying a visit to India. As President Ghulam Ishaq Khan has rightly observed, such visits are useful in understanding the other side's point of view and in conveying one's own position. Nothing is lost in the process.

Consequently, neither the government nor the army need be defensive about the matter.

It goes without saying that Pakistan must do everything in its power to help the cause of the Kashmiri people. Without a proper and just settlement of the Kashmir dispute there can be no real peace in South Asia. Much of the time we in Pakistan pay lip-service to the Kashmiri cause without doing much in practical terms to help further it. This order of priorities must change. Rhetoric and propaganda have their uses but these must not be substitutes for a substantive policy. India has unleashed a reign of terror in the valley in a bid to crush the Kashmiri uprising. It should be one of Pakistan's foremost duties to keep drawing world attention to this outrageous situation. But having said this, Pakistan must not shy away from talking to India at any level that is available or feasible—so long as such exchanges prove useful in reducing tension or promoting the solution of a particular contentious issue. Sticking to a principled stand on Kashmir and exploring all possible avenues of understanding with our next-door neighbour are not mutually exclusive options. In fact, they should go hand in hand.

#### **Paper Views Talks With India; Criticizes Sharif Policy**

*BK2008131192 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Aug 92 p 6*

[Editorial: "Mr Rao Is Taking Pakistan for a Ride"]

[Text] Much as the two Prime Ministers, Mr Nawaz Sharif and P.V. Narasimha Rao, would have their respective people believe that the Foreign Secretary-level talks between the two governments are making progress, there are solid grounds to be apprehensive. First, how is one to ignore the most extraordinarily uncharacteristic gesture of Mr Rao to make a gratuitous statement on Kashmir, reiterating the "utoot ang" (inseparable part) theory on the eve of the talks? This has been India's refrain for years. There was absolutely no compelling reason for Mr Rao to have replayed that by now rather hackneyed tune, so loudly and so glaringly out of season. But one has to see why a mature statesman like Mr Rao chose to do that. He must have known that he would not be enhancing the prospects of progress by that reiteration. That, then, does not augur awfully well for the secretary-level talks, hopefully supposed to be a prelude to better days in the subcontinent. Assuming that we can afford for the moment not to read more than there might be in Mr Rao's statement, let's see what the two secretaries are actually doing. They appear to be talking about everything under the sun except the "core" issue, to use the Pakistan Foreign Office argot. The latest reports spoke of some progress in the direction of an agreement to abjure use of chemical weapons against each other. This would seem to be progress along the route delineated by the agreement on non-attack of each other's nuclear facilities and (presumably) installations. What little is known about the nature and scope of that

agreement is too little to base any comment on. We do know, however, that the agreement was followed by "exchange of information" about the nuclear establishments in question. At least in Islamabad, some quarters are assailed by doubts about the comprehensiveness of the information provided by New Delhi. How far these fears are sustainable or not, we cannot pretend to know. So, on this issue, we may, for all we know, be in moonshine.

The sudden interest in chemical weapons cannot possibly be without some deep significance. We are not unaware of the profound interest developed by the United States in the proliferation of chemical weapons. Much of the hullabaloo in Iraq these days is over chemical weapons. This should open our eyes. Round the corner may be moves to manoeuvre the United Nations into outlawing chemical weapons and arming the UN with the right to enter any member country to ensure it is chemical-weapons-free. The concern about nuclear weapons has been stunned back to the back burner (because Israel is a nuclear power, and so is India). India is already well on way to becoming a darling of the United States, as is Egypt, because of the two countries' recognition of Israel. Since we are refusing to fall at the feet of Israel, we are rising in priority on the US hit list. The birth of US concern for chemical weapons cannot possibly be without some long-term consideration. Pakistan has to be extremely wary.

Add to these, the "joint" expression of concern for the events in Afghanistan. Pakistan and India have all along been on the opposite sides as far as the 14-year-long Afghan conflict is concerned: Is it not a little intriguing why there should now be talk of "joint" concern on an issue so intimately connected with the basic interests of Pakistan? While India is being welcomed with open arms in the Gulf, thanks to the canvassing by Washington which is irresistible to the powers that be in the Gulf, Pakistan is being nudged out. For much of this trend we have only ourselves to blame. Our government is among those oddities in the world which do not have a full cabinet rank minister. Our international affairs are handled by a minister of state (no courtesy meant to him), while our PM is too busy Islamising the country to look beyond his nose. Pakistan's international interests have never been subject to such consistent neglect at the political level. The farthest Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif can see beyond Pakistan's frontiers is, for the present inaccessible, Kabul.

#### Daily Notes Threat From Indian Missile Program

*BK2108125392 Islamabad THE NATION in English  
21 Aug 92 p 6*

[Editorial: "India's Missile System"]

[Text] India's integrated missile development programme that was launched about nine years ago has propelled it to the level where it can now comfortably seat itself among the select group of nations—the United

States, Britain, France and heirs of the erstwhile Soviet Union—that have the capability to produce tactical battlefield missile systems. It has just completed the eighth test firing of a sophisticated medium-range surface-to-surface missile, the Prithvi. Also underway is the testing of four other missile systems, including the short-range surface-to-air, Trishul, and an even deadlier more fearsome weapon, the Agni, an intermediate-range ballistic missile that has a capability to reach targets 2,500 kilometres away while work is in progress to extend this range to 3000 kilometres. The first crop of the indigenously made missiles is expected to be ready for professional use as early as '93. What should also be a cause for international concern is that, in addition to its missile programme, the country is about to clinch a deal with Russia to set up high technology armaments industries that will help it further fortify its arsenal and enable the two prospective partners to sell their jointly produced weapons for profits in foreign markets. Added to this whole intensification of India's high-quality arms production thrust is the frightening nuclear dimension—the country is said to possess 25 nuclear weapons. This India policy of getting armed to the teeth, particularly its missile-nuclear capability, poses a grave security threat not only to the country's immediate neighbours but far beyond their borders into the Middle East and some other important regions of Asia.

However, given its past aggressive adventures against Pakistan and the current inflamed state of relations between the two, due to the situation in Kashmir, it is not difficult to imagine who India would want to browbeat with its deadly new acquisitions. It would be unrealistic at this stage to expect that Pakistan could match India's formidable war machine, but at the same time, it cannot afford to sit around doing nothing while its traditional adversary keeps on adding top of the line indigenously produced weapons systems to its arsenal. With the almost complete stoppage of the U.S. military aid, it must look around for other sources to replenish its depleting weaponry. It must also intensify and broaden its efforts to curtail the country's insatiable lust for weapons of human destruction. While the big powers are making deep cuts in their armaments, there is no reason why the world should allow India, with its teeming millions living under the poverty line, to go on spending scandalously high amounts of money on reinforcing its menacing military capability and upsetting the strategic balance of South Asia as well as that of other regions around it. Our leaders must devise a well-thought-out strategy to awaken America's Presslers, Solarzs and Glenns to this disturbing reality.

#### Editorial Condemns Indian Defense Minister 'Warning'

*BK2708105192 Islamabad THE NATION in English  
27 Aug 92 p 6*

[Editorial: "Pawar's sword rattling"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Two separate stories about India's war-like posture have appeared in the Press on the same day. One speaks of Indian Defence Minister Sharad Pawar's warning to Pakistan of 'stringent action', against what is alleged to be Pakistan's arming of 'terrorists' in Kashmir. The other quotes a retired Indian General as saying that India is considering a military option to end Pakistan's overt induction of arms into Kashmir. There is an implicit acknowledgement in both that the struggle for freedom launched by the Kashmiris cannot be controlled by more than five divisions of Indian Army now deployed in the Valley, because of their help by Pakistan. An attack on Pakistan could, it is surmised, cripple the capacity of the freedom-fighters to carry on the struggle on the one hand and create a useful diversion for public opinion in the international community, which is increasingly showing its concern for violation of human rights in Held Kashmir. Such talk, even if it is meant for home consumption, sounds strange after a so-called 'successful' meeting of the Foreign Secretaries of the countries, in which, if our Foreign Secretary is to be believed, India agreed for the first time to talk about Kashmir. If Mr Pawar's warning is the only way that India is going to talk of Kashmir, then would it not be better for us to work towards strengthening our defence against a sneak attack by India, rather than misleading our people by building hopes of peace?

Despite the fact that the ceasefire line in Kashmir is totally sealed by India and there is a heavy concentration of Indian troops all along it, the charge that the Kashmiris are getting these weapons from Pakistan, makes little sense. Again, the Indian claim that but for a few 'terrorists', the people of Kashmir would be with them, looks ridiculous when one reads the stories written by neutral visitors to the Valley, not just from foreign countries but also from India itself, which speak of the entire population having turned hostile to India. Therefore, even if the Indian charge of Pakistan's arming of freedom-fighters is accepted as true, what explanation does Mr Pawar or Mr Rao have for the total alienation of an entire people? And how would an attack on Pakistan that Mr Pawar may be contemplating, help India to win over the Kashmiris? And why does Mr Pawar think that his stupid sword rattling would fighthen Pakistan into abandoning its moral and diplomatic support to the Kashmiris? Pakistan does not want war, not because it is frightened of war but because wars, irrespective of their outcome solve nothing. But if Mr Pawar still feels that he can get away with his 'stringent action' plan, let him try that. He may be in for a few surprises.

**Government Stand on Afghan Fighting Criticized**  
*BK2008130192 Islamabad THE NATION in English  
20 Aug 92 p 6*

[Editorial: "Rabbani's Allegation"]

[Text] Professor. Borhanoddin Rabbani, President of the Interim Government of Afghanistan, has held Pakistan partly responsible for the current crisis in Kabul by

alleging that if truckloads of arms and ammunition keep coming to Hekmatyar from Peshawar, what can he do. The response of the Government of Pakistan to this charge has so far been that Pakistan's territory will not be allowed to be used to destabilise the present government in Kabul and that Pakistan supports all peaceful means to resolve differences among the mojahedin groups. Whether this was meant to show our complete neutrality in the struggle for power going on in Kabul or was meant to be a diplomatic way of saying that Pakistan is willing to play the role of a peace-maker, is not quite clear. But to a layman it does sound as quite an evasive a reply. Pakistan, if it wanted to be forthright, could have said that no arms are being sent from Pakistan, or if being sent, will be stopped. It did not say that. Nor has Pakistan said that Hekmatyar's attack on Kabul needed to be condemned. There is thus a credibility gap in Pakistan's claim of support to Professor Rabbani's government insofar as it has done nothing to restrain Hekmatyar, its former protege, to stop his senseless massacre of innocent civilians. If Hekmatyar is against the presence of the Uzbek militia in Kabul, then the question to be put him should have been: how many Uzbek militia men has he been able to eliminate with the hundreds of rockets that he has rained on thickly populated parts of the city? The next question should be that if he has managed to kill more than a thousand men, women and children, in just a few days, then how is he different from Najib, who similarly decimated the population of Afghanistan.

This wishy-washy approach of the government, apparently meant not to take sides or not to annoy Hekmatyar, actually discredits Pakistan. It amounts to complicity in a serious crime against humanity. There are, of course, strong supporters of Hekmatyar in this country—the Jama'at for his political orientation and the ANP [Awami National Party] for his so called Pashtun credentials. The former was, till recently, a part of the government and the latter is an ally of the government. But political affiliations, whatever their worth, should not make us gloss over the excesses that are being committed against innocent people right next door to us. Pakistan's stance of neutrality in the internal affairs of Afghanistan is understandable but when those affairs begin to impinge on Pakistan's own vital interests, firmness with those in Pakistan who are helping the cause of rebellion in Afghanistan on the one hand and making clear to rebels abroad of our intention to curb their activities, on the other, should be perfectly in order.

**Embassy Issues Visas to Sikhs, Hindus Fleeing Kabul**

*BK2308104292 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English  
23 Aug 92 p 8*

[Monitoring Report]

[Excerpts] UN officials in the North West Pakistani city of Peshawar, said the number of people entering Pakistan is rising every day. About a thousand Afghans are

now crossing the border daily. Some are Hindus and Sikhs, who lived all their life in Afghanistan and now feel threatened.

In Afghanistan, large number of people are continuing to flee the capital Kabul to escape heavy fighting between government and the rebel forces. Tens of thousands of Afghans have already left the city and despite a recent lull in the fighting, officials are reporting a rise in the number of Afghans trying to cross the border into Pakistan. [passage omitted on details of fighting in Kabul]

The Pakistani Embassy in the Afghan capital Kabul has unexpectedly begun issuing visas to Sikhs and Hindus wishing to flee because of the continuing fighting.

Pakistani authorities say that so far 1600 exit permits have been issued to the non-Muslim minority in Afghanistan.

Western diplomats say this amounts to a change of direction in Pakistani policy. Until now the government in Islamabad had accused Hindus and Sikhs of spying for India and had refused them entry. [passage omitted on expected meeting of Afghan leadership council]

#### Daily Notes Threat of 'Balkanised' Afghanistan

*BK2608131792 Karachi DAWN in English 26 Aug 92 p 15*

[Editorial: "The Importance of the Pashawar Accord"]

[Text] The rockets that are raining death and destruction on Kabul could also spell trouble at a future date for Pakistan. In the fires they are causing to rise lies the danger of Afghanistan being split on ethnic lines—the Tajiks and the Uzbeks consolidating their hold on the north and the majority Pashtuns, led by the single-minded Golbuddin Hekmatyar, laying claim to the areas contiguous to Pakistan. From Pakistan's point of view no outcome could be worse, for far from encouraging the Afghan refugee population to return to their homeland, it would bring a fresh wave of refugees to this country. Furthermore, the tremors from a balkanised Afghanistan would affect Pakistan as well. That is not the kind of situation we should be looking forward to. Accordingly, our interests are best served by a stable and secure Afghanistan. The longer the present fighting in Kabul lasts the more remote this objective becomes.

Islamabad, however, is on the right track when it underscores the importance of the Peshawar accord which, with an eye on the ground situation then prevailing in Afghanistan, set down a power-sharing formula between various factions of the Mojahedin. One person who felt cheated by that agreement was Hekmatyar. Ever since he has been trying to rewrite it by force. His avowed aim is to rid Kabul of General Rashid Dostam's Uzbek militia whose eleventh-hour switching of sides led to the collapse of the Najibullah regime. But if his record is anything to go by, his real aim is to seize all power for

himself. How the present civil war, for it is virtually that, shapes up cannot be predicted with any degree of certainty. All we can do is to wish the Afghan people well but it would be the height of folly to want to play the role of a king-maker in Afghan affairs. States more powerful than ours have come to grief on the rocks of this ambition. But what remains in Pakistan's power to do is to abide strictly by the Peshawar accord and lend what support it can to the de jure government of Afghanistan. If this entails asking Hekmatyar to close his offices in Pakistan, offices from which all sorts of bulletins about the fighting in Kabul are being issued, it should seriously consider this course. Similarly, any party or group in Pakistan wishing to take sides in the Afghan civil war must be prevented from doing so.

The special favour shown to Hekmatyar's Hezb-e-Eslami by elements of the Pakistan government during the fight against the Soviet occupation was based upon a vague notion of pan-Islamism which suffered from a great deal of wishfulness and exaggeration. The continued unrest in Afghanistan having exposed the unsoundness of much of that thinking, it is high time we removed the last cobwebs sticking to our Afghan policy and made it subservient to a single aim: the return of peace and stability in Afghanistan.

#### Four Israeli 'Spies' Arrested in Peshawar

*BK1808103992 Islamabad THE NATION in English 18 Aug 92 p 13*

[From "Our Correspondent"]

[Text] Peshawar—Four Israeli spies were arrested in the University Town here on Monday.

These spies, three men and a woman, who lived in the posh area of the city for the last one year and tried to obtain sensitive information about Pakistan's nuclear programme arrived in Pakistan from Morocco on French passports and were working "undercover" in a donor organisation.

On a tip off from an Arab, the intelligence agency arrested them after long "detective work" and painstaking surveillance. However, the details are being withheld.

According to details gathered from different sources by THE NATION, an Arab attached with a donor organisation travelling by air from Peshawar to Karachi had to wait in the lounge along with some foreigners due to a take-off delay. He observed two men and a woman talking in Hebrew and became suspicious on overhearing them. He stayed in the same hotel in Karachi where these men and woman were checking in. He learnt from the hotel management that the men and woman were French. However, he noted their Peshawar address.

On his return to Peshawar, he discussed the matter with his other countrymen who advised him to approach the Pakistani authorities. He contacted an Intelligence

Officer in Peshawar who connected him with the authorities in Islamabad. The house where these spies were staying was put under round the clock surveillance. After a great deal of investigation the intelligence agency learnt that they were the members of Israeli intelligence agency "Mosad" and were working to get information about Pakistan's nuclear programme and other sensitive developments.

Getting the undesirable evidence the intelligence agency raided the house and arrested the four spies. They have been transported to Islamabad for further investigation.

### Internal Affairs

#### Prime Minister Said Hostile Toward Open Press

##### Not Interested in Democracy

92AS1316A Lahore THE NATION in English 21 Jul 92  
p 11

[Article by Azizud Din Ahmad: "Nawaz Sharif and the Future of Democracy"]

[Text] If martial law was to be declared today, there would be enough material for a subsequent White Paper against Mian Nawaz Sharif and his IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government. Army would have quite a few facts to prove that the regime gave priority to personal welfare over national interests, that it was involved in corruption and nepotism, that national assets were looted, that terrorists and anti-state elements were protected and that the government aligned itself with forces that were out to create a state within a state.

It goes to Nawaz Sharif's discredit that he hardly made any effort to strengthen democracy in the country. His attitude towards his own political party, the opposition parties, the Press and the judiciary indicates his failure in this direction.

The most important way to strengthen democracy is to create an atmosphere congenial for the development of all political parties. Nawaz Sharif failed to do this. As virtue normally begins at home, the Prime Minister should have given some of his time to organise and popularise PML [Pakistan Muslim League], his own political party. Not much effort, however, seems to have been made to put the party in order. In spite of the Muslim League ruling the country, hardly anything has been done to develop and strengthen its mass base. No membership campaign on a sufficiently large scale has been launched, its manifesto has not been publicised, and no public meetings to introduce it have been organised. Muslim League remains as cut off from people as it was a few years back. Even paper targets allotted to its various provincial units are yet to be achieved. The Muslim League still remains divided into half a dozen groups and no effort has been made to unify them. Palace intrigues in the meanwhile continue to try to change its leadership by removing Muhammad Khan

Junejo and bring Mian Nawaz Sharif in as its President. A really sad situation of the party that created the country.

Nawaz Sharif and his team have, in the meanwhile, concentrated all their energy on keeping the dying body of the IJI alive. The impossible task has consumed most of their time and energies.

The IJI has been an alliance of ideologically opposite parties banded together to oppose the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] in 1988 elections and later on expanded by associating other parties of a similar divergence of views in order to overthrow the PPP government. The alliance might have been useful for a negative purpose but would have been useless for any constructive business. As their views clashed on most of the things the parties of the IJI could not jointly run a government. The Jama'at-i-Islami, for instance, aimed at creating an Islamic system of a peculiar brand to which no Muslim Leaguer has ever agreed. The ANP wanted Pukhtuns to be led by Pukhtuns and was deadly opposed to the creation of Kalabagh Dam while the Muslim League did not regard Mian Nawaz Sharif only as a leader of the Punjabis and was committed to the construction of the dam. The MQM stood for a Mohajir nationality while the idea of separate nationalities was repugnant to the Muslim League.

Mian Nawaz Sharif gave priority to keeping the IJI together as it gave him a sense of personal security. He is the President of the IJI and not the Muslim League which is under Muhammad Khan Junejo.

Nawaz Sharif's attitude towards the Opposition has not been in line with the best democratic traditions. His treatment of the PPP, the main Opposition party, has been vindictive all the time. He tried his level best to eradicate it from its stronghold in Sindh. He gave Jam Sadiq Ali, the Chief Minister of Sindh, a carte blanche to adopt any method, legal, semi-legal or thoroughly illegal to root out the PPP from Sindh. To achieve this purpose, the Jam resorted to the worst type of horse-trading, sparing neither the stick nor the carrot. He aligned with terrorists and criminals, used bureaucracy for political purposes to the extent of totally demoralising the institution. He involved the PPP activists in fake cases, resorted to illegal arrests and tortures. He thus succeeded in reducing the PPP into a minority party. The people of Pakistan had thus to pay prohibitive cost in order to satisfy the vindictiveness of Mian Nawaz Sharif. Jam's actions brought discredit to the establishment including bureaucracy, judiciary and legislature. They led to the devaluation of democracy in the eyes of the people. If this is democracy, the common man said, then it is hardly worth struggling for. Little difference was felt by a common PPP worker in Sindh between the Martial Law period and the Jam democracy.

At no time during the last two years did Nawaz Sharif abandon his vindictive attitude towards the PPP and adopt a conciliatory one. Democracy cannot strike roots

unless the ruling party adopts the stance of live and let live towards opposition parties in the country. With the long and painful history of martial laws that we have, there was a need that the ruling party and the PPP developed a relationship of peaceful co-existence between them and collaborated in strengthening the shaky foundations of democracy in the country. This, however, could not happen due to the vindictive attitude that the Prime Minister failed to drop even after the elections.

Strengthening democracy requires a positive and friendly attitude towards the Press, by the ruling party in particular. This has been lacking under the Nawaz Sharif regime. The Press in Pakistan has achieved the freedom it enjoys today due to the hard and prolonged struggle it has waged in the past and after a lot of sacrifice ranging from lashes awarded to journalists to ban on government ads imposed on the independent Press. The present government has never been happy with the independence enjoyed by news media. The Prime Minister has more than once expressed annoyance at what he has termed as unfriendly reporting and his government has tried to curb the freedom enjoyed by it through the well-known policy of Press advice and of stopping or reducing government ads to newspapers criticising the government. And this in spite of the fact that much of the criticism appearing in the Press has been motivated by the desire to make the government work in accordance with democratic norms. The Press through its investigative reporting has often helped to expose grave injustice and redress genuine grievances. An outstanding example of such reporting is the investigative story about the recent Hyderabad killings where nine innocent villagers were killed and later declared criminals. Even Mian Nawaz Sharif insisted they had been terrorists. It was due to the efforts of the Sindhi Press that the truth was discovered.

The MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement], a part of the Sindh Government, dealt with the Press most highhandedly. A number of newspapers which refused to toe the MQM line that their offices ransacked and plundered. Dissenting newspaper reporters were beaten up, attempts were made at the lives of others. Jam government harassed even editors who published stories about the MQM torture centres or about the Notorious Criminal Investigation Authority of Sindh. The Press had a really bad time at the hands of the Sindh IJI government. Even allies of the government opposing the MQM in Sindh were not spared. The house of the editor of a Karachi weekly was burnt down by the MQM activists and life was made so miserable for him than he had to shift his office to Lahore and publish the weekly from there. These tactics against the Press remind us of fascist parties and their practices. They have weakened the already fragile democracy in Pakistan.

The greatest weakness Nawaz Sharif has revealed to have possessed is a total lack of vision. He does not care for tomorrow if he can spend time happily today. He adopts a course of action without caring for its long time

repercussions which ultimately overtake him. The creation of the IJI with its elements basically poles apart from one another is an example of his visionless politics. But that is not all.

Take his Kashmir policy for instance. During elections, he stood for getting the Indian-held part of Kashmir liberated at all costs and played the PPP for being soft on the issue. Those belonging to Lahore have seen the large hoarding displayed at a building at a busy crossing of the city depicting Nawaz Sharif in combat uniform, gun in hand, with the inscription "Nawaz Sharif will get us Kashmir." He issued fiery statements when JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front] announced it was about to cross the Line of Control. One wondered how to stop Nawaz Sharif from crossing the border along with JKLF. He even suggested Kashmiris could opt for a third choice: going totally independent, a policy no Pakistani Government has ever subscribed to. But soon Nawaz Sharif made a hundred and eighty degree turn. Announcing that he had never supported total independence for Kashmir, he ordered firing on unarmed Kashmiris moving towards the Line of Control. A visionless policy dictating an about-turn.

Or take his policy of containing the PPP in Sindh. He allowed Jam Sadiq to enter into alliance with Jeay Sindh and the MQM to uproot the PPP from Sindh. He did it fully knowing the politics of both. First Jeay Sindh was to create problems for him when its leader announced at a public meeting, with Jam's Ministers sitting on the dais, that he wanted to liberate Sindh from Pakistan. As it created a sensation in Punjab, Nawaz Sharif had to make a reversal in policy about G. M. Syed. Again a visionless policy, not looking at the essence and potentialities of parties but seeking alliance with them for opportunistic purposes.

Didn't Nawaz Sharif know what the MQM was up to when he established friendship with them? He knew fairly well all about it but didn't care to think about future ramifications as long as the friendship provided a sense of security for the time being. Then he allowed military action in Sindh. Didn't he know about its implications? Why does he wring his hands now? Why does he put the army in a position where it could say "Civilians get out."

Martial law is not possible due to a peculiar international situation today. Our foreign masters who ordered martial laws, or approved it whenever they took place, have of late developed allergy to them. As far as Mian Nawaz Sharif is concerned he has taken the country to the brink of a martial law, thanks to his visionless mind.

#### Favors Official Releases

92AS1316B Lahore THE NATION in English 11 Jul 92  
p 6

[Editorial: "Passing the Buck"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Prime Minister has a reason to be unhappy with the Press and warn it for what he has called running 'rumour-mongering factories.' Notwithstanding the crude tactics of his media advisers and 'more loyal than the king' disposition of the mandarins in the Information Ministry, the independent Press in the country has refused to fall in line with the 'officially-certified truth.' And while the state-run TV, radio network plus the handy organs of the National Press Trust are day-in and day-out busy telling the people that all is well in the country, the independent Press is, to say the least, bound to give both sides of the story. The information mandarins, however, it seems, wish the Press to emulate the 'his master's voice' model set by the state-controlled media. Perhaps it has not occurred to them that the Press has won its freedom after a long and resilient struggle against authoritarianism and it has no intention of bartering it away despite threats and intimidation. And unlike the 'media empires' held to ransom by the information Czars, the free Press is not constrained to serve any masters other than the people of Pakistan whose aspirations it represents and whose rights and interests it seeks to safeguard.

Ironically, each time the Prime Minister has censured the Press, and there have been quite a few occasions in the recent past when he thought it opportune to charge the Press with being irresponsible and guilty of spreading rumours, he has somehow brought the message home that he was running out of patience with the audacity with which the Press has been reporting and commenting. While we hold no brief for 'yellow journalism' and do not equate freedom with licence to vilify people or cook stories, we are of the firm belief that any attempt to dictate terms to the Press either explicitly, or through the elaborate system of 'rewards and punishments' at the government's disposal will be counter productive. Bullying the Press appears to have become the order of the day, more so with the members of the party in power. If the Prime Minister sets the tone for making the Press a convenient whipping boy for all the irritants he has to reckon with on account of in-house differences or policy debacles, his camp followers are likely to go for an overkill. And, thus, he would be paving the way for a course of action that could precipitate a showdown between the government and the Press. If the Prime Minister is concerned about 'spread of rumours,' he should first set his own house in order to stem the source of rumour-mongering, before passing the buck to the Press for what everybody sees as a situation of confusion and uncertainty on the national scene.

#### Should Attempt Improvement

92AS1316C Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*  
in English 12 Jul 92 p 10

[Editorial: "PM Should Improve Relations With the Press"]

[Text] Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif has castigated the press too many times now to just rest and not do

anything. The truth of the matter is that the press is by and large in his favour. It is the political situation in the country and the trouble in which the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] finds itself these days that has allowed the impression to be created that the press is maligning his government. The relationship with the press is a two-way street. Newspapers report developments and offer opinion. Sometimes, it is important for governments in crisis to heed this opinion and regard it as impartial counsel. Mian Sahib's politics is such that he can no longer heed any advice that doesn't emanate from his inner sanctum of advisers. That he doesn't read newspapers is well known; that his advisers' vested interest dictates that he doesn't throw off the iron hoop in which he has been operating so far. Instead, pressure on DGPRs [expansion not given] and the PID [Press Information Department] has become unbearable. This situation, exacerbated by information officials, trying to get negative news dropped, is bound to lead to misadventure. It is hoped that Nawaz Sharif doesn't get persuaded to undertake a misadventure vis-a-vis the press.

The prime minister can restore his good relations with a generally friendly press if he makes some positive changes in the inner circle. Someone must present to him the almost unanimous advice the newspapers are offering him editorially these days. Many governments in the past have landed themselves into an impasse in the past. Unable to break out of it, they have invariably castigated the press for carrying news they didn't like and rejected the editorial advice offered as a way out of the impasse. Sometimes the rulers are intelligent, but inflexible; sometimes the rulers are not intellectually inclined to reading what is printed in the national press. In both instances, it is the government that has suffered in the long run. The journalists have been punished, at times brutally, but there are too many of them to be eliminated. Also, there is too much competition in the newspaper market for the DGPRs and information officials in Islamabad to get news dropped on the treat of cutting off ads or other 'methods' used traditionally by incumbent governments. The prime minister needs to read the newspapers carefully and not bother too much about the news that are true, but unpleasant. He needs to improve his equation with a press that has been more friendly to him than most leaders in the past. He can do that only by discounting the advice of his inner sanctum, taking advantage of his disinclination to read.

#### National Leaders Claimed Divided Over Sindh Operation

92AS1420D Lahore *THE NATION* in English 23 Jul 92  
p 6

[Article by Khalid Mahmud: "Establishment's Rift Scenario"]

[Text] The country's establishment has never been so hopelessly divided as it appears to be now in the wake of openly expressed differences on the scope of Sindh operation. Ironically enough, the man who had in the

post-Ziaul Haq period emerged as the "political commissar" of the Armed Forces and was thereby installed as the country's President to oversee the power-sharing arrangement is under siege. Perhaps there is no immediate threat to his job, albeit some conspiracy theorists believe that he is likely to be the first casualty in case of a disturbance in the status quo. It nevertheless looks like the end of the road for the grand old man reputed for having mastered the art of political survival. And whether or not he remains in office till the completion of his term in 1993, he is no longer in a position to call the shots and preside over the establishment with the same measure of authority that he had exercised in the past.

The rift in the establishment has ostensibly been precipitated by divergence of perceptions between the ruling party and the Army leadership about the purpose of a clean-up in Sindh. The naivety of clumsy overreaction to the Army's crackdown on the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] exhibited by some IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] stalwarts had let the cat out of the bag and clearly brought the message home that the ruling party circles were not only caught on the wrong foot but also had the feeling that they had been taken for a ride by the Generals. Nevertheless, it would be an oversimplification to see the rift merely in terms of "divergence of perceptions" on the Sindh operation. The fact that the Army high command chose to act on its own and do exactly the opposite of what the ruling party had envisaged to accomplish by calling the Army in aid of civil power could not have been either spontaneous or incidental. What one can see quite clearly from the Army's conscious decision to distance itself from the IJI government's dispensation is the signal that the Generals now not only have a game plan of their own, but are also willing to sell it as the alternate model for running the affairs of the country.

Regardless of how the military operation in Sindh is conducted henceforth in the wake of the Army securing powers to act effectively, it has already dealt a death blow to the IJI government's credibility. By refusing to chase the targets set by the government, the Army has underscored its readiness to play an "autonomous" role, and by projecting an evaluation of "friends" and "enemies" diametrically opposed to the official version, it has put across the message that it is not willing to buy the IJI's recipe for efficacious governance. The unkindest cuts of all inflicted on the IJI government by the Army has been its pronouncement of "secessionism" against the MQM and acquittal of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] of the "terrorist connection."

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has so far stuck to his strategy of political alliances, albeit with diminishing credibility and growing isolation, and has refused point blank to have any truck with the PPP. He could have, following the fall of the MQM, reviewed his Sindh policy and found a way of communicating with Ms. Benazir Bhutto, rather than persisting in hobnobbing with the MQM factions and trying to prop up a government in Sindh which neither has legitimacy nor popular support.

Mian Nawaz Sharif has indeed been overtaken by a grave crisis of credibility. Ironically, his government could be charged with anything—from corruption to mismanagement—which was once brought against Benazir government and had led to its fall. But he appears to be quite oblivious to the challenges that lie ahead of his government, dismissing recurring signals of public disappointment with his performance as figments of the Press's imagination and refusing to accept the advice that he needs to set his house in order and restructure his political priorities.

What has made the scenario even more dismal is the widely-held impression that the Prime Minister's team does not act in unison and there are as many publicly expressed voices on major issues as there are members of his standing army of ministers, ministers of state and advisers, etc. One is inclined to give him some allowance for he alone is not responsible for the disarray in his administration. Much of it had to do with the parallel "power centres" that have been operating in the establishment, and it is an open secret that a good many of his cabinet colleagues are not his choice but nominees of the hitherto powerful President. Nevertheless, Mian Nawaz Sharif who, given his preponderant parliamentary majority and long-standing rapport with the establishment, was expected to give a better account of himself as Prime Minister than his beleaguered predecessor, finds himself today in as much of a quandary as Benazir Bhutto was when she, as she confessed, later, had committed the blunder of "opening too many fronts at the same time."

What could be deemed as Mian Sahib's singular failure is his inability to grow into a credible national leader, despite the leverage he had as a Prime Minister acceptable to the establishment. He has on the contrary squandered away the opportunity to institutionalise the political process by refusing to outgrow the Zia-legacy and the "big brother" charged with overseeing its continuance. The Prime Minister has often given the impression that he does not have enough courage to defy the President and rid the system of the bondage that makes it vulnerable to the machinations of an indirectly-elected head of state. Far from going the whole hog to salvage his political authority, which would not have been a far cry had Mian Nawaz Sharif positively responded to the Opposition's overtures for a concerted bid to repeal the Eighth Amendment, he was so overawed by the presidential discretion that he did not pursue his half-hearted gestures for a dialogue with the Opposition.

If the Prime Minister finds himself in the unenviable position of being contradicted by his Chief of the Army Staff on such vital issues as to who is a "patriot" and who an "anti-national" he is himself to blame for his loss of face. He could have easily averted his "credibility crisis" by making peace with the Opposition before the Army Generals could make mileage out of a divided house of politicians. He has, however, missed the bus, and driven the PPP to the point of no return, leaving Benazir Bhutto

with no choice but to hobnob with Generals and seek their assistance to get even with her political adversaries.

The Prime Minister does not seem to have been unnerved by the "battle of nerves" that has been on for quite some time, courtesy IJI rhetoric and ISPR [Inter-Service Public Relations] Press briefings, albeit there has been no dearth of political speculation, or as the Prime Minister would like to put it, rumour-mongering in abundance. Apart from the Opposition's "kite-flying" which is anyway banking on some kind of "Army intervention" to bail it out from its virtual captivity, political circles of various hues have been predicting that the "rift" in the establishment is likely to persist and may develop into an open rupture.

Though the President has been keeping a low profile, as usual refraining himself from joining in the "war of words" and the Prime Minister has not deemed it necessary to give up playing his weekend cricket, all is certainly not well on the political scene. General Asif Nawaz Janjua may not have considered the possibility of imposing Martial Law and "send the jokers packing" he surely is not the same "professional soldier" that he was a year ago when he took over as the COAS [Chief of Army Staff]. Today he is giving altogether different looks, if not of a prospective coup-maker, at least of a man who wishes to use his clout as the Army Chief to assert himself in political matters and let the Army influence major decision making. Regardless of how he plans to seek the role he seems to have set for himself and the armed forces, there is perhaps no longer any room in his scheme of things for a political commissar to articulate the Army's interest.

#### **Survey Shows Public Favors Sindh Operation**

92AS01367A Karachi TAKBEER in Urdu 16 Jul 92  
p 18

##### [Article: "Survey on Military Operation"]

[Text] The life-size pictures of Altaf Hussein were removed by the same people who posted them in Karachi after the confrontation between the two MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] factions on 19 July in Karachi. This shows a major change, because in the past, the posting of Altaf Hussein's photograph represented bloodshed on a major scale. This rapidly changing situation has left the entire city in disbelief.

The weekly TAKBEER arranged for a random survey to assess the people's feelings. People belonging to various classes and schools of thought were asked three questions. The representative population of Karachi was included in this survey. Our goal was to obtain opinions from every Urdu-speaking person from all kinds of ethnic and socio-economic groups. This survey also hints that, after the "locks of pressure" were broken, people expressed their opinions without any fear. The results of these surveys are given below.

Question 1: Do you support the military operation in Sindh?

Yes: 61.2 percent  
No: 37.3 percent  
No Opinion: 1.5 percent

Question 2: Is the MQM's (original) stand against Altaf Hussein appropriate?

Yes: 41.8 percent  
No: 40.3 percent  
No Opinion: 7.9 percent

Question 3: Should political parties be permitted to use ethnic and racial issues?

Yes: 29.9 percent  
No: 71.6 percent  
No Opinion: 1.5 percent

During the survey, the people interviewed also shared other opinions in addition to their answers to our questions. Some said that governments from Benazir Bhutto to Nawaz Sharif knew well that the people and the opponents had levied serious accusations against the MQM; however, because of vested interests and a desire to gain power, all MQM crimes were swept under the rug. As a result, the water had gone above everyone's heads. [sentence as published] The people expressed various opinions about the success or failure of the military operation. It was also said that, as a result of this operation, the real face of the MQM had been unmasked. Some people said that no one could deny the fact that the MQM committed a lot of atrocities against its own people. The fact should not be hidden that the MQM (original) participated equally in these atrocities. The people view both factions equally. Some people expressed satisfaction with the present situation and said that every government had given protection to ethnic parties.

#### **Minister Rejects Bhutto Allegations About Court Cases**

BK2008151692 Islamabad PTV Television Network  
in English 1400 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] The National Assembly was informed today that the government has done everything in its power to expedite the process of disposal of references against the leader of the opposition and her party members under the law in a fair and just manner. Making a policy statement in the house today, the minister for parliamentary affairs, Chaudhary Amir Hussain, strongly contradicted the allegation leveled by the leader of the opposition, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, in the National Assembly on Sunday that the references were delayed on behalf of the referring authority and she was keen to expedite them.

Chaudhary Amir Hussain, firmly stating the policy of the government on the subject, said the government has never delayed the process of references by any act or omission nor has it any intention of doing so. Quoting facts from the official record of the cases, the minister said that the government is in no way responsible for the

delay in the cases and all allegations to this effect are wholly baseless. He said the factual position is that it is the leader of the opposition who is trying to avoid the court to delay the references.

Four cases have been disposed of so far, while the rest remain to be decided by the courts concerned. In all, 19 references were filed in September-October 1990 in various courts. Charges were duly framed by the courts in 18 references on the basis of facts disclosed from official records and duly served on the respondents, including the ex-prime minister. In all, seven references were against the ex-prime minister, five against ex-federal ministers and seven against ex-MNA's [Members of National Assembly]. The minister said that all these instances amply prove that the government is in no way involved in the delay of disposing of the references. On the contrary, he said, it is the leader of the opposition who is responsible for the delay in these cases. He said the government leaves it to the honorable members to judge for themselves the true facts relating to the references. After the statement of the minister, the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] members staged a walkout on the pretext that they were not given a chance of personal explanation. Earlier, the house adopted a bill providing for the establishment of the Indus River System Authority.

#### Newsmen Protest Curb on Publication of Bhutto Remarks

*BK2608132392 Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST in English 26 Aug 92 p 1*

[Text] Islamabad—Journalists covering National Assembly proceedings Tuesday staged a walkout from the press gallery to protest against parliamentary affairs minister Ch [Chaudhary] Amir Hussain who demanded that press should not publish different portions of the statement of opposition leader Ms Benazir Bhutto.

Ch Amir demanded of the speaker to direct press not to publish portions of Benazir's speech.

Reporters sitting in the gallery considered minister's demand as "a direct attack" on press freedom. Senior journalist Qaiser Butt of THE FRONTIER POST, announced walkout and almost the entire press corp walked out from the gallery except a couple of newsmen.

Benazir Bhutto and other opposition members thumped their desks in support of the journalist and press freedom. Journalists condemned Ch Amir Hussain's remarks saying what right he has to ask press not to publish the statement. "This is a direct threat to press freedom," newsmen shouted in the press gallery.

Later a couple of journalists who did not join walkout physically attacked two newsmen who had staged walkout. Other journalists, however, intervened before things could aggravate. Meanwhile, parliamentary

reporters have decided to stage a similar walkout if demand is made from any side to bar the press from publishing any thing.

#### Political Turmoil Seen as Threat to National Security

*92AS1364C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 19 Jul 92 p 3*

[Editorial: "Seriousness of the Political Turmoil"]

[Text] Political turmoil is increasing instead of decreasing in the country and the opposition has intensified its action. The PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] is deciding whether to resign from the national and provincial assemblies and the leader of the opposition, Benazir Bhutto, is collecting resignations from her supporters in the assembly, which will be offered at the opportune moment. The political crisis intensified because of the resignations of the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] members from the Sindh assembly. Crisis and dissension encouraged negative politics, racism, prejudice, hatred, and terrorism in the country and created hardships for the people. The government and the opposition, however, ignored national interests and devoted their time and energy to confrontation and attacks aimed at belittling each other. The nation can now see the outcome of such behavior.

The country is facing uncertain times. In spite of the army operation in progress in Karachi and the interior of Sindh and the existence of security outposts in various places, citizens who want law and order are dissatisfied and frightened. The government and the opposition should have kept the army operation above politics and seen the matter to its logical end, that is, they should have cooperated in establishing total law and order in Sindh. But seeing the government show political compromise and indecision, the opposition seized the opportunity and PDA and the People's Party started an open campaign against the president and the prime minister.

Benazir Bhutto is repeatedly demanding the removal of the president and the prime minister, the dissolution of the national assembly, the formation of a national government, and new elections to be held under its supervision. She has set a deadline of 30 July for the acceptance of her demands failing which, as was decided in the PDA meeting, all the PDA members of the assembly would resign and a countrywide public campaign would be started. Benazir Bhutto has even claimed that her resignation alone would bring down the government and break up the assembly.

Speaking to journalists in Islamabad, she said that they would soon hear surprising news. It is possible that the federal government and its ministers have not realized the gravity of the situation, but it does appear that a radical change of some kind is coming, and the status quo is on its way out. Certain circles suspect a foreign power of trying to establish its hold on Pakistan and, to that end, conspiring to bring about the crisis. This foreign power will try to bring into office a government

that would follow its policies and wishes. In the present struggle and disturbed political conditions, those parties that support the Islamic system and the ideology of Pakistan should enter the fray and warn the nation of danger and inform the people of the facts, for if they do not do so, the country and the nation will face serious peril.

### Ruling Party Meeting Criticizes Government Performance

BK2708104792 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English  
27 Aug 92 p 1

[By Mohammad Saleh Zaafir]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 26—The parliamentary party of the Pakistan Muslim League (PML) in a meeting here on Wednesday [26 Aug] expressed its dissatisfaction over the performance of the government. The meeting took place at the central secretariat of the PML. The meeting which started in the evening continued till mid-night.

Senator Iqbal Ahmad Khan, secretary general of the PML, claimed that over 70 members of the National Assembly belonging to the PML, including some Federal Ministers attended the meeting. Senator Iqbal Ahmad Khan briefed the waiting newsmen on the 4-hour long closed-door meeting which was presided over by Mohammad Khan Junejo.

Mr Junejo, in his presidential address said the nation was facing a number of problems which were not being taken care of properly. The PML workers, he said, were shouldering heavy responsibilities to solve the problems of the people. He said the coalition partners in the government were given more than their due while the PML workers were feeling isolated. He asked the ministers to maintain close contact with the PML workers.

Expressing his concern over the Sindh situation he said the Army action had enhanced the confidence of the people but unfortunately, he said, the recent floods have increased the miseries of the Sindh people. The former Prime Minister expressed his dissatisfaction over the relief arrangements made for the flood and rain affected people.

Iqbal Khan told newsmen that it had been decided during the meeting that in future PML parliamentary party would provide guidance to the government on matters of legislation and important subjects, likely to come up in Parliament. To a question he said that after the departure of Jamaat-i-Islami from IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad—Islamic Democratic Alliance] and National Assembly, now it was the PML, which practically formed the government.

He said the party policy on important national issues would be laid down in the parliamentary party's meetings in future. Such a meeting would take place at least thrice during the one session of the National Assembly, he added.

Mohammad Ejazul Haq, Chief Organiser of the PML and Federal Minister and Makhdoom Javed Hashemi, Minister of State, were also present.

Earlier, Chaudhary Shujat Hussain, Federal Interior Minister, told newsmen that he had informed the Parliamentary Party that government was preparing a comprehensive plan to create an administrative structure in Sindh, which would take over the provincial affairs after the withdrawal of the army from the province. The plan, which was being prepared under the advice of Prime Minister Mohamad Nawaz Sharif would be finalised shortly. He said the Ministry of Planning had been asked to prepare another plan to make the socio-economic uplift of the province possible within the shortest possible time.

He told newsmen that the Army had destroyed 16 big hideouts of the notorious dacoits [robbers] in the province. More than 145,000 weapons including Kalashnikovs, LMG [light machine gun], rocket launchers, and mortars were recovered during the operation. He said the operation was in full swing. The crime rate had come down, he added.

According to an insider, members belonging to the PML sharply criticised government's policies.

### IJI's Coalition Partner MQM Financially Implicated

92AS1426F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English  
5 Aug 92 p 12

[Article by Haider Rizvi: "MQM Men Face Action for Getting Huge Loans"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 4: The MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] leadership including MNAs [members of National Assembly] and MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly], who resigned their seats from the Assemblies recently may face a judicial trial for obtaining huge loans and advances—running into millions of rupees—by misusing their political clout, THE MUSLIM learned on good authority on Tuesday.

According to sources being a coalition partner of the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government at the centre as well as in Sindh the MQM leadership and its members had drawn millions of rupees as advances and loans by exerting political pressure on financial institutions.

Last week, the Pakistan Banking Council sent a letter to the chief executive of country's leading banks, including the Habib Bank, Muslim Commercial Bank, National Bank of Pakistan, United Bank, Allied Bank and First Women Bank asking them to provide details of loans and advances obtained by the MQM members.

The Banking Council believes there are scores of cases which clearly indicate that the MQM members obtained huge amounts of money without going through the normal procedure and formalities. 'We can't tell you

exactly how much amount was drawn by the MQM', a competent source said adding, 'but we believe it runs into millions'.

The Banking Council is expected to send all the details to the Ministry of Finance soon after it receives full information about the loans and advances obtained by MQM members.

### Bhutto, PPP Urged To Befriend MQM

92AS1416C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English  
3 Aug 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Time To Bury the Past and Build for the Future"]

[Text] The MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] has been under the spotlight for some time. Unfortunately for not quite the right reasons. But this is a passing phase. And it is more reassuring that Ms. Benazir Bhutto, the leading light in the opposition at present, has an open mind on this very sensitive subject. In an interview with a foreign newspaper, Ms. Bhutto has recalled the time when her Pakistan People's Party [PPP] and the MQM were in partnership which ended rather painfully for both. For her part, Ms. Bhutto says, "we started out in good faith." And there she is dead right. That was the time when there was plenty of good faith all round. But as she should know, as well as anyone else, that many hands more powerful than her's and MQM leadership's, were operating behind the scenes, if not exactly clandestinely. It is also a matter of common public knowledge that when after seventeen days of dilly-dallying, the President reluctantly invited her to form the government (which was her undisputed right), much had already been done to pave the way for her unceremonious and sudden ouster. Thanks to one of the close confidants of the present Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, it has been revealed that the MQM was "delivered" to the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] at the moment when it (IJI) badly needed some blood transfusion. This is sufficient as background to explain, at least partly, why the perfectly natural alliance between the PPP and MQM soured and why they were ultimately pitted against each other. Some powers vastly stronger than the PPP and MQM in the initial stages sowed the seeds of disruption of the PPP-MQM working partnership. And they succeeded, however maliciously. From that point Jam Sadiq Ali took over. The consequences of the mischief are now in front of us in the shape of army action and only goodness knows what is to follow. Let's hope it would end well.

Ms. Bhutto started off with "good faith." Now good sense would demand that she should assume that, by and large, there was no dearth of good faith on the other side, either. Not even the worst opponent of the MQM would deny that it cut a new path through the jungle of Pakistan's richman's politics—the politics of the feudal and the capitalist. MQM brought the middle classes into the mainstream of this country's politics for the first

time. It also put together a political party with astonishingly dependable discipline in its rank and file. The average MQM follower and supporter was and remains an honest wage-earner, mostly educated and generally sensible. It would be an outrage on common sense to dye the MQM rank and file with the same taint which is now revealed to be on the hands of some of the top MQM bosses. Even if all the stories now set afloat by the Sindh administration (which has been hand and glove with the same MQM management) are correct, it does not in any manner of speaking incriminate the MQM supporter in the street and the bazaar. Between the genuine PPP supporter in Lyari and the true MQM follower in Lalukhet there is nothing at all which would make for the least incompatibility. They are natural partners in clean politics, devoted the welfare of the masses and the progress of the nation.

One should like to hope that Ms. Benazir would be able to distinguish between the bad fish in the MQM pond and the good. She is bound to find that barring a few, very few indeed, the MQM supporter is just the kind of citizen the PPP should be able to do business famously with. But there is no denying that a backlog of sour feelings is very much there. The MQM leadership is in disarray. Some of it is in the jug, so to say. And quite possibly deservedly so. A big-hearted and high-minded gesture from Ms. Benazir is what is the need of the hour to restore Karachi, Hyderabad, and perhaps also some other urban centres to proper and normal mood. This is the time for Ms. Benazir to befriend the MQM followers and take them by the hand. A friend in need is a friend indeed. The Sindh PPP should disburden itself of past rancours and turn a new page. This is what Sindh so direly needs. And this is what Pakistan, too, needs no less badly.

### Role of MQM in Society, Politics Analyzed

92AS01366B Karachi JANG in Urdu 18 Jul 92 p 3

[Article by Syed Anwar Kamaal: "MQM (Mohajir Qaumi Movement): An Analysis"]

[Text] Among the political forces that have played a major role in Sindh, the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] has a prominent place. Many reasons are given for the amazing and debatable change that occurred in Sindh's urban politics after the Nashtar Park rally in 1986. These include support by General Ziaul Haq, Ghous Ali Shah, and other military generals; efforts of nationalist intellectuals; and behind-the-scene help from foreign terrorist organizations.

Whether these are facts or false accusations, it is the job of government agencies to find out. However, a student of political science should definitely be very interested in the political activities of the past five or six years. The sudden emergence of Altaf Hussain and some other student leaders in state politics; the uniting of the people, especially the educated and more knowledgeable group in Karachi and Hyderabad who have been dividing their

votes among various religious and national parties, under a party platform; representation in various municipal committees, state assemblies, and at the national level by the young and newly arrived members of the MQM; curfews in various areas; disagreement with the government; violent attacks on several political parties; and an increase in popular support for the MQM in spite of the deteriorating situation in Karachi and Hyderabad—all these facts are living proofs of the weaknesses in the Pakistani political system, disappointment with the national and ethnic political parties, and the increasing tendency toward factionalism. However, it is very difficult to accept that the MQM was successful because of some international conspiracies hatched by some persons or organizations. We must recognize the fact that persons and parties that support national unity were discouraged by the establishment of the MQM. However, we just cannot say that any unpatriotic organization has benefited by MQM's emergence at the national level.

The people who are aware of the problems of Sindh's urban population know that the presence of ethnic parties is not a new development. There is also the fact that all federal parties have acquired terrorists, ammunition, and weapons in large quantities. Parties like Jiye Sindh, the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], Jamaati-Islami, the Muslim League, and other parties cannot deny using the students for violence and power in Jamia Karachi and other educational institutions. All of these parties share this "honor." If an antinational organization wanted to play with the youth in Karachi, it would not have to start a new party because many kinds of platforms can be arranged cheaply to trap the students. In Karachi the general atmosphere, unsatisfactory social and economic situation, lack of political agreement in the urban population, unemployment, disillusionment with the educational system, and other reasons have made the young people willing to sell themselves cheaply. Heroin, Kalashnikovs, and terrorism were available for our youth as a short cut.

It was not surprising that the MQM was established and successful in such a situation. Even the events following its establishment appeared like a natural development to the experienced observers. The Bashri Zedi case in Karachi was followed by communal riots and this slowly smoldering lava was ready to erupt. The government and the national level political leaders shot themselves in the foot because of their self-centered attitude, lack of precaution, carelessness, and wrong assumptions. They neither paid any attention to the problems people were facing, nor did they find a better solution. Instead, they followed the policy of raising the "long live Pakistan" slogan and declaring every regional and antifederal group traitorous. In this situation, Sindh's urban population became disillusioned with the policies and moderate attitudes of their leaders and was ready for a group identity. The people understood easily that if a Sindhi and a Pathan can remain patriotic even after calling themselves Sindhi or Pathan, then they should not be

embarrassed calling themselves Mohajirs. Nobody likes emotionalism and its long-range results are usually detrimental. However, emotions pay an important role in changing the attitude of a nation or a group. The urban population of Sindh forgot that, if they had failed in getting their rights, even after working through national politics, their success in building a separate "mosque with one and half a brick" outside of national politics was not going to be successful. However, as mentioned earlier, if the patriotic Mohajir could see any hope in this pitch dark atmosphere created by its disappointment, then it was under the flag of the Mohajir Qaumi Movement. The responsibility of forcing this patriotic group to this level rests more with our so-called national political parties and their vain imaginations than with the military generals.

We do not deny the allegation that anti-Pakistan groups must have considered the establishment or growth of the MQM to be in their favor. We have to admit that the groups of young people from Liaqatabad, Malir, Landhi, and Azizabad who were raising slogans of "Jiye Mohajir" [long live Mohajirs] were after all Pakistanis. They had no designs to help any non-Pakistani organization. These groups of hundreds of thousands of angry young men were brimming with talent, youthful emotions, and disappointment with their situation. However, unfortunately for them, their political leaders forgot them, being busy with their political gymnastics. All that was given to them by the politicians was disappointments.

These young men were talented and educated. They had many skills and the hot blood that forces one to pick up Kalashnikovs and commit terrorism. We have to admit that these young men took the path of violence and tried to force others into the "flood of their strength." However, we should not forget that for the first time in the history of Pakistan most of the MQM representatives at the municipal, state, and national level were educated and knowledgeable. Young doctors, engineers, and technocrats were elected to public offices from the MQM platform.

These young adults were our national resource, but their inexperienced leadership and a dearth of veteran political leaders stopped them from becoming fully successful. Why do we forget that other national political parties considered MQM's success an obstruction in their paths. They never thought of welcoming these young men elected from such important constituencies as Karachi and Hyderabad and exterminating the germs of destruction that might be born around them.

The MQM had to review its own political strategy after joining the government. Our young leaders must have learned that regional and national politics differ. It was not possible for the MQM to present the issues that it was following for a long time in the National Assembly. Although you can create a pressure group with 15 National Assembly seats and 29 state assembly seats, you cannot get a constitutional decision made in your favor.

This requires cooperation and horse trading with other political parties. This task, however, was difficult for the MQM because it was necessary to form a national movement platform. Under these circumstances a party born out of emotions and situations becomes disappointed with its own success and existence.

The path to the politics of torture cells was taken because of some wrong decisions made by the MQM leaders, a personality cult, disagreement among workers, increasing corruption and silence of the leaders about it, the use of force, and an abundance of weapons. Thus, a patriotic party was labeled a terrorist group and was embarrassed by its own members.

It will take time to investigate the accusations levied against the MQM. However, we can admit two of the accusations against the MQM. One is violence and the other is corruption. However, it is excessive to call this political movement, which reached unbelievable heights of popularity and was elected by the mandate of hundreds of thousands of people, a terrorist or antinational group because of the antisocial activities of a few hundred or thousand members. This would also be suspicious of the political discernment of hundreds of thousands of the people who are considered the most educated and patriotic group in the country.

Then there is the commonly known fact that not all political leaders in Sindh were known to the people. The people voted for their candidates sight-unseen just because of the name of their national leaders and the election symbol of kite. This was not an ideal situation because the voters should have had the opportunity to judge the qualities of their candidates. However, the people imposed this responsibility on the national leadership and the people should have done their duty.

Against this background resignations by rightful candidates from national and state assemblies were meaningful and appropriate. The people will have the opportunity to review their collective decisions and to update their decisions in the light of new revelations. Similarly, the MQM, after the clean-up phase, will have the opportunity to understand its mistakes and rectify them. We would like to advise the members of the original MQM that after resigning from the legislative assemblies they should join the popular referendum with a new attitude, facts, and a mandate so that they can say proudly that they have not fallen prey to any political chess game. If the members of the original MQM stay away from violence and corruption and provide effective leadership to Sindh's urban population, then there is no doubt that they will be successful in the future.

After the news about the MQM torture cells, murders, and violent activities was made public, people were surprised to read that the MQM (original) leadership welcomed the zone leaders and sector leaders into their group. Would not it have been appropriate to wait until these persons were investigated by the courts and those

who were associated with the torture cells were identified? They would be deluding themselves if they thought that all the MQM zone leaders were unaware of these torture cells. Sindh's urban politics is passing through the phase "watch and think." Moderation, cooperation, and national consideration can lead us toward a better future. It is the perfect time for us to admit our mistakes at party, regional, individual, and national levels. We must show our hatred toward violence and get rid of torture cells. This way we will be able to destroy the walls around us and give a strong and united Pakistan to the future generations.

#### **Move Against MQM Seen as Political Loss for Sharif**

*92AS1364B Karachi AMN in Urdu 19 Jul 92 p 2*

[Article by Juma Khan: "Political Damage From the Operation Against the MQM (Mohajir Qaumi Movement) Is Surfacing; first paragraph is AMN lead]

[Text] If the Premier Is Not Concerned About Resignations, He Should Have MQM Resignations Accepted and Announce Interim Elections; The Political Games Being Played in the Muslim League Term of Office May Force People To Swear Off Democracy.

The meeting of the central committee of the People's Democratic Alliance (PDA) was held in Islamabad under the chairmanship of Benazir Bhutto, the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] cochairperson and former premier. It was decided that if Syed Muzaffar Shah, the chief minister of Sindh, failed to seek a new vote of confidence from the provincial assembly by 30 July, a campaign against the government would be started throughout the country. The meeting was attended by Asghar Khan of Tehrik-i-Istiqlal, Malik Qasim of the Muslim League, Alama Sajid Naqvi of Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Fiqah-i-Jafria, and other leaders. It was decided that other parties also would be consulted regarding resignations from the assemblies and then a date would be announced for the resignations.

Commenting on the opposition's decision to submit resignations, the prime minister said in Lahore that these resignations would not create any crisis, the opposition should not delay its resignation, and the government would hold interim elections. He said that imposing martial law was not being considered and that those who spread such rumors would be legally prosecuted.

The opposition party had been thinking of resigning from the assemblies for various reasons; the political situation in Sindh has now made such resignations certain. This situation is the result of the recent operation in Sindh against the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] whose political misconduct had reached the limit. Even before the operation, the opposition had planned to resign from the assemblies in order to force the government to hold new elections; the opposition

regards the present government as the outcome of electoral fraud and holds the view that official corruption and the lack of law and order are destructive to the country and nation.

The political situation created in Sindh by the operation against the MQM has become intolerable to the opposition, which witnessed official misconduct and the crushing under foot of democratic principles; the opposition saw how in the course of the operation, the MQM, even though it was a member of the ruling party, was subjected to the most cruel treatment and how efforts were made to buy political loyalty. In view of all this, the opposition decided that it could no longer expect adherence to the rules of decent democracy; hence, it set aside all other reasons for resignation and decided to resign on the basis that the Sindh assembly had lost confidence in the chief minister who nevertheless was being kept in office by the federal government, an act both unconstitutional and illegal.

Law experts agree that because the Sindh assembly has 109 members, the chief minister needs the vote of confidence of 55 members, a simple majority, to stay in office. Chief Minister Syed Muzaffar Shah acknowledged in a recent meeting of the Sindh assembly that he had the support of 46 members. The next day, a MQM member of the assembly who had resigned, was arrested at his house, forced to announce that he was taking his resignation back, and decided to support the chief minister; this brought the number of the minister's supporters to 47, which is still short of the required number. Muzaffar Shah has taken the stand that if the opposition thinks that he lacks the confidence of the majority of the assembly, it should prove its own majority or demonstrate it by having a vote of no confidence passed. At any rate, this is a legal issue; the opposition claims that the chief minister does not have the support of 50 percent of the members and thus should resign.

Muzaffar Shah is faced with this political crisis because of the withdrawal of support from the MQM, all of whose members in the assembly have resigned, but the acceptance of these resignations has not yet been announced. An effort is under way to establish contact with the resigning members of the assembly and include them somehow in the ruling parliamentary group.

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, senior politician and convenor of the All-Parties Conference, maintains that the resignation of any member of the assembly becomes final when the document reaches the speaker and that the acceptance of resignation is a mere formality because neither the speaker nor anyone else has the power to reject a resignation. However, Gauhar Ayub, the speaker of the national assembly, took no action for two weeks on the resignation of Islam Nabi, a MQM member of the national assembly, and then allowed the latter to take back his resignation. Moreover, the deputy speaker of the Sindh assembly has not announced the acceptance of any resignations; he has said that 12 of the 24 deputies who had submitted their resignations had immediately

petitioned that their resignations not be accepted. Even if what he says is true, he should have announced the resignation of the remaining 12 deputies in order to allow the election commission to begin preparations for holding interim elections in their constituencies, as specified in the constitution; but the deputy speaker has not done so. All this shows unlimited political chicanery. If the operation against the MQM had not been carried out, the MQM would not have needed to resign from the government or the assemblies; the government of Sindh would not have been endangered; the opposition would not have decided to resign from the assemblies; and a people's movement throughout the country would not have been announced.

The prime minister has said that the opposition should go ahead and resign if it has decided to, that these resignations would not create a crisis, and that the government will hold interim elections. The prime minister may think this is easy to do, but in democratic politics the ruling party cannot do as it pleases, but has to respect the wishes of the people even though it may not like these wishes at all. If Nawaz Sharif thinks that resignations will not bring about a crisis and interim elections could be easily held, then he should use his influence to have the resignations of the Sindh assembly members accepted and allow no delay in interim elections. Why does he ignore the continued delay in accepting the assembly member resignations and not order speedy interim elections held in the constituencies of those members whose resignations have been accepted?

As for martial law, no supporter of democracy likes the imposition of military dictatorship, but as Dr. Javed Iqbal has said, conditions may arise that would force people to beg for martial law. At any rate, if what is being done under the name of the Sindh operation is legal, then it could turn people against democracy. Unfortunately, the present political drama is being staged in the term of office of the Muslim League, which established Pakistan.

Democracy is not confined to Pakistan alone; one finds democracy in many countries, on all the continents and in the neighbouring countries of India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. Democracy has been an off and on thing in Pakistan; whether it was liked or disliked, the political games that are being played in this era of "democracy" are unique; there have been no such games played in this country in the past or in any other democratic country.

Legal terminolgy describes the government as that of the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad [IJI], whereas, the opposition calls it the government of the Muslim League alone because most of the founding parties of the IJI have either separated from it or been expelled. It is also said that IJI is now neither Islami nor Jamhoori [democratic] nor Ittehad [united] because it failed to promulgate the shari'ah and to carry out the decision of the federal shari'ah court against interest [as published]. Moreover, the vacant IJI posts have not as yet been filled nor have elections been held on time; hence, this group cannot be

called Islamic or democratic and the alliance is ended as well, because most of the parties have left or been expelled, it can no longer be called an alliance. The IJI failed to maintain the honor of its name and just as the 1973 constitution lost its unanimous aspect and its soul after the eighth amendment, IJI's name has no real meaning now. The Muslim League is now running IJI; the head of the Muslim League is the former prime minister Mohammad Khan Junejo, and the present prime minister Nawaz Sharif only holds the Muslim League's provincial post as the head of the Punjab Muslim League. That is the reason why the prime minister does not have much influence on his party's national policy and organization. It is a different matter if he should try to exert his influence as the prime minister. Political circles are unable to understand why, if the prime minister can be head of the Punjab Muslim League, the members of the Muslim League are ashamed to make him the central head of the party.

According to political analysts, the Muslim League is now running the government. It is said about this Muslim League that it is the Muslim League of Qaide Azam and the party that created Pakistan. If this is true, then nobody expected that it would deviate from Qaide Azam's principles and establish undemocratic traditions unmatched in any other democratic country.

#### **Consequences of Operation for MQM Viewed**

##### **Muslim League Contests Seats**

92AS1394A Lahore *THE NATION* in English 29 Jul 92  
pp 1,4

[Text] Islamabad—Terming the Opposition's strategy of resigning from the Assemblies as a negative politics, Iqbal Ahmed Khan Secretary General Pakistan Muslim League has warned that the submission of resignations by the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] legislators will be harmful for the democratic system of the country.

He made these observations at a Press conference held at PML [Pakistan Muslim League] Secretariat on Tuesday. The PML leader hinted that destruction of the democratic institutions would be a threat to the national integrity. He said that PDAs farewell to Sindh Assembly would create difficult situation for the Provincial Government and it would be vital blow to the Provincial Assembly.

He said that 24 members of the Sindh Assembly had already submitted their resignations and if 35 members of the Opposition followed them, the House would face a crisis. Senator Iqbal Ahmed Khan said that Muslim League has decided to contest the by-elections on the vacant seats of MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] and the party had accelerated organisational work in Sindh.

He added that on his current visit to Karachi, he had formed Divisional Committee which would be under Zain Noorani. The PML Secretary General further said that a party unit would be formed in every provincial

constituency and for the purpose, 28 PML units would be formed in Karachi. Similarly, he informed that PML would be reorganised in the rural areas of Sindh. He admitted that due to the negligence of PML leadership, Sindh was ignored in the past which proved harmful for the national interests.

Iqbal Khan pointed out that there were a large number of irregularities in the voter lists of Karachi and bogus votes were entered in thousands. He demanded that the bogus votes should be excluded from the lists prior to the by-elections in Karachi and Hyderabad. He further said that to prevent the incidents of hooliganism the elections should be held under the supervision of Army.

#### **Disillusionment Reigns**

92AS1394B Lahore *The NATION* in English 25 Jul 92  
pp 1,8

[Article by Nusrat Javeed: "The MQM Disillusionment"; italicized words as published]

[Text] Islamabad—Besides the lack of credibility of our establishment and media, there are certain deliberate looking tactics which have helped the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] to project the impression as if the "truths now revealed" were nothing but "baseless propaganda against a radically populist organisation which dared defy the monopolisation of power by the feudal-bureaucrat-arm nexus."

The MQM infighting essentially remained confined to Landhi. This is a lower-middle-class and labour area where Afaq Ahmad and Amir Khan had deep roots. The boyish-looking Afaq and Amir were dedicated to the Mohajir cause since 1978. They have charismatic personalities like Altaf and questioned his cultist control of the organisation. The youth suspected to be in league with them was ruthlessly taken on by the Altaf loyalists. There are gutted houses in this area and it is from here that a fairly good number of cadres not toeing the Altaf line was picked up for torture of annihilation.

The second area where one can see anti-Altaf feelings is the Lines Area. This area was erected by the British to provide interim stay to the soldiers waiting for transportation to Middle East during the Second World War.

After partition the hapless refugees converted them into the residential areas. There was massive encroachment and flourishing of a shanty town culture. People were terribly poor and resourceless and big families are crammed into very small houses. Here, there was an MQM leader, Javed Langra, who emerged as a mafioso lord who was holding his own court and "policing" through a gang of trigger-happy and deadly youth. Langra's house looks like a citadel where holes were made to monitor the "incoming enemy" with a view to resisting him with sophisticated weapons. No doubt, with the erection of iron gates "outsiders" were denied any chance of penetration. A stranger, found to be roaming about in the narrow streets, was checked there and then.

Since June 19 the people are willing to talk about these areas. They feel somewhat liberated. Thanks to the lumpen armies of the unemployed youth that the MQM proved its threatening street power. Boys loved guns tottering and fighting for Altaf Bhai. Though it later degenerated into bullying their own community.

In the rest of the Mohajir-dominated areas in Karachi one hardly saw any broad-based approval of action against the MQM. Rather there are strong reservations regarding the troops presence in Karachi, though they are expressed in private.

A general view is that some of the MQM guys were definitely going off-limits in bullying opponents or those who dissent. But "how can Altaf Bhai be blamed for it. Bureaucracy and police commit a lot of atrocities against the common man. Should we be blaming the President and the Prime Minister for the commission of horrifying crimes by the police and others?" is the question one faces while roaming about the streets of Karachi.

Altaf stays put in London for the past one year. This helps him distance from whatever was taking place within the MQM ranks since April 1991. And this infighting was a natural consequence of the style of politics Altaf and MQM resorted to.

True to the gory traditions of populists thriving upon charisma and mass hysteria, Altaf was uncomfortable about the comrades of difficult past in his glory. His background was lowest possible middle-class. With the crude rage of such a class he roamed about the poverty lanes and college canteens. He could spellbound listeners with incessant bickering about the perceived injustice "third generations of the founders of Pakistan were made the victim of." He articulated such grievances immediately after the dismemberment of Pakistan where the Urdu-speaking population was almost butchered by the chauvinist Bengalis. The '71 war and developments thereafter seriously denied the Muslim nationhood theory which was projected as the sole *raison d'être* of Pakistan. In post-Bangladesh Pakistan, the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto focused upon economic and nationalistic issues. The Urdu-speaking population, majority of whom had voted for the religious parties like Jama'at-i-Islami and Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan, felt terribly alienated during that period.

It was expected that Gen. Zia who loudly proclaimed to be for Urdu and Islam would take care of this alienation. But despite being a host to three million Afghans he could not muster up the courage of bringing in around a million of Urdu-speaking persons stranded in Bangladesh. The military rule and the State monopoly over industry and commerce patronised a specific group of neo-millionaires. Altaf began with flirting with the Sindhi secessionists. The initial slogans on Karachi walls were "Sindhi-Mohajir Bhai-Bhai, Dhoti Naswar Kahan Sai Aai." There is strong evidence that industrialists and traders from amongst the Memon and Khoji *Biradris*, who were traditionally dominating business and trade in

this country before the imposition of Martial Law, generously funded the MQM when it was taking on Punjabis and Pushtoons and trying to build bridges with Sindhis.

But then approached August 1983 which forced the establishment to win back the Sindhi population with loud gestures. In search of legitimacy and constituency Zia started pampering the extremists. The so-called psychological warfare expert of Gen. Zia, Lt.-Gen. Mujibur Rehman, devised a media policy which pampered Sindhi writers. Television was flooded with programmes where Sindhi milieu and culture were overblown intensifying the Mohajir alienation. The idea got substantiated that the Mohajir could only be relevant for the state if they too asserted their "nationality" and projected through a political organisation which was militant and uncompromising.

This also suited the establishment which had known just one method of ruling, i.e., divide and rule. The year 1986 was the perfect year to form the MQM. Ms. Benazir Bhutto had returned to Pakistan to sweep the country with massive rallies. She was to be told about the roadblocks ahead and Altaf announced formation of the MQM at a very well-attended rally in Karachi where everyone was impressed by the dedicated listeners who kept standing in heavy downpour.

Thanks to a diligent homework, basically done by Altaf who remained a true son of the streets with round-the-clock patrolling on Honda-50 motorcycle, the organisation swept the Local Bodies polls in 1987. Karachi and Hyderabad were taken over by them, thanks to Syed Ghous Ali Shah's problems with the Local Bodies of these two cities. The control of Local Bodies provided the definite base which facilitated emergence of the MQM as the sole party representing the mass of the Urdu-speaking population. Still, Altaf decidedly supported and worked for the Sindhi woman Prime Minister of Pakistan. But that for the time being.

#### Torture Cells Revealed

92AS1394C Lahore *The NATION* in English 28 Jul 92  
pp 1,4

[Text] Karachi—An under-training ASI [expansion not given] Mohammad Zaki, who was arrested on June 28 1992, and handed over to law-enforcing agency, has revealed many startling facts about the high command of MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] during an investigation. He disclosed that on the orders of the high command, he, along with other MQM activists, had murdered opponents, tortured dissidents snatched vehicles, and burnt trucks, buses and cars, during an agitation in the city.

In May 1990, while Sindhi-Mohajir riots took place in Hyderabad, the MQM launched an action against Sindhis and he along with other activists took active part in these riots. The MQM high command also decided to kill the Sindhi doctors who lived in GOR [expansion not

given] flats, he said. He has also disclosed the names of certain Units Incharges and other office-bearers of MQM who have allegedly taken active part in terrorist activities, including Javed Langra and Abid Akhtar, MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly], Rahim Commando and certain Councillors. He also disclosed the names of those who had now joined the Haqqis. They are Yousaf Khattak, Kamran Choota, Jin Chacha, Mansoor, Kamran, Sarwar, Afzal, Reech, Mama Arshad Khan, Adeeb Ahmed, Shehzad Qasai, Shark, Shadman, Qadir, Rashi, Afaaq, Naeem, Mecheera, Irfan alias Aslah Farooq, Rizwan Rashid Teenda, Shoukat Doodh Wala, Liaqat Doodh Wala, Akhtar Doodh Wala and Tanweer.

In May 1990, he revealed, he had along with other MQM activists, set ablaze a general store and a house of a Sindhi during Sindhi Mohajir riots in Karachi. He also disclosed that MQM high command decided in a meeting that Dr. Soomro, a Sindhi should also be killed. In the said meeting of the high command, Nadir, Majeed, Naeem, Ayaz including himself, were entrusted with the task. In May-June 1990 he along with other workers of MQM, fired on the Rangers mobile which came in Jatland Lines to arrest the terrorists.

In May 1990, a meeting was held in Pir Elahi Bakhsh Colony, in which Altaf Hussain addressed these participants to raise their hands who were ready to sacrifice for the Mohajir cause. He said that when Javed Langra established a torture cell, after being appointed as sector incharge, he was nominated as incharge of the cell and arms and ammunition stored therein. After the murder of Murad Preedy in April 1991, the anti-group people came forward openly and started indiscriminate firing in the Lines area and he played a major role in those incidents in the directions received from the Markaz.

Four boys were taken to the torture cell of Javed Langra and they were tortured by a team comprising Fahim Farooqi alias Commando, Nora, Asghar Tika, Tasleem Guddo, Nasir, Amar Zaidi and Shahid Qureshi. Sometime, he also joined their torturing activities.

The ASI also disclosed that he along with Naveed snatched a Steel Mills Toyota Hilex from M.A. Jimnah Road and handed it over to the sector incharge. He also brought a person Jamal from Abne Seena Lines and tortured him in the cell. In April 1992, he, along with other accomplices, fired in the air behind Jacob Lines area to create panic in the locality. The suspect ASI disclosed that in the entire Sindh province, 128 persons, belonging to MQM, were employed in the Sindh Police from 6 October, 1991 to 1992, on the recommendations of MQM high command. He disclosed that as many as 11 torture cells were established and were running under the supervision of certain Units Incharges in different localities of Karachi where heavy consignments of arms and ammunition were stored.

He has also given the names of those Units Incharges under whose supervision those torture cells worked. He has also disclosed the names of 74 Units Incharges, Joint

Units Incharge, Members Sector committees and office-bearers of MQM who were involved in kidnapping, torture, firing, burning, and killings.

### Leaders Not Cooperating

92AS1394D Lahore *The NATION* in English 23 Jul 92  
pp 1,4

[Article by Nusrat Javeed: "Bureaucracy Not Cooperating With the Army"]

[Text] Islamabad—The Presidential Order of July 19 appears to have taken care of legalistic impediments commanding tiers of "troops aiding and assisting the civil administration in Sindh" were hinting at during briefings held for the newsmen of Islamabad on troubled spots last week. A day after the President and the Prime Minister went to the GHQ [General Headquarters] and an ISPR [Inter-Service Public Relations] release, which was made available to the newsmen at least eight hours after the high-level deliberations, informed us about smooth sailings amongst the troika. The military leadership publicly reiterated that it was the prerogative of the democratically elected government to devise policies and that operation in Sindh could not deliver per se. A politico-economic package, which we are told had already been promised by the government, was needed to be pursued on long-term basis. The operation clean-up, therefore, enters the second phase after the GHQ meeting and issuance of the Ordinance.

As mentioned earlier, due to peculiar ethnic and urban biases an average newspaper reader gets the impression in this country as if army was in Sindh only to take care of the MQM. A perception which is not correct because troops' involvement in the interior Sindh is more intense and visible than it is in the cities. But in politics perceptions at times are more important than reality and everyone would now keenly monitor troops' achievements in the cities after granting of "search and arrest" powers by the government.

For unexplained reasons, the MQM leaders and activists remain underground despite repeated promises by army that only Salim Shehzad, Safdar Bagri, Ashfaq Chief and Javed Langra were wanted from amongst the top leadership for allegedly committing serious crimes. Though FIRs [First Information Reports] are now being registered against Altaf Hussain by families of people missing and killed in the infighting during April last year, there does not seem to be an intensive and visible official effort to demolish his image. No startling recovery of arms caches had so far been reported which negates the allegations that Karachi was seething with arms because of the MQM lust for them.

Despite being underground, the pro-Altaf elements are inactive contact with each other and also communicating with their constituencies through newspapers. There was an impression that perhaps the troops were not able to nab the MQM, MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] and MNAs [members of National Assembly] because

Muzaffar Hussain Shah was resisting them for being crucially dependent upon the support provided by the MQM to his government in the relevant assembly. Police and bureaucracy were also suspected to be noncooperating with the army.

From Islamabad, however, it looked as if the troops failed in making sensational recovery of arms because the MQM rebels were exclusively relied upon for tip-offs and intelligence. It was thought that once the army demolishes the "Berlin wall" if fear the MQM militants had allegedly erected around Karachi media and authorities would be flooded with complaints about the past crimes of terror.

There are three to four torture cells, army and MQM dissidents are repeatedly showing since June 19. Independent investigations substantiate allegations that dissent was subjected to humiliating probing at these places. There are several young boys who were killed or yet are missing for visibly expressing reservations regarding arm-twisting tactics the MQM adopted while going down. This correspondent also visited at least a score of houses, of assertive dissidents, which were ruthlessly burnt in June and July 91. There, however, is no broad-based sympathy prevailing on the mass of Urdu speaking population of Karachi for the victims of atrocities committed by the hard-core loyalists of the Quaid-e-Tehrik.

Essentially the lack of sympathy for the victims and excitement about the "unveiling of the true face of the MQM" is due to the lack of credibility. The invisible but perpetual oligarchy of our civil and military bureaucracy is known to be switching positions compulsively. It is so accomplished in destroying and building up the men of prominence from the civil society. Bureaucracy projected Suharwadys, A.K. Fazle Haqs, Wali Khans and G.M. Syeds as traitors who were not shy of collaborating with the hostile countries in their obsession for power. Z.A. Bhutto had to release Mujibur Rehman to pre-empt the collapse of his government. He was the same person prosecuted for being involved in the Agartala conspiracy. Gen. Zia packed the Hyderabad Tribunal soon after taking over despite the fact that Bhutto was forced to take on his natural allies in the then NAP [National Awami Party] on the insistence of the civil and military officials in the security establishment. His broad grin photo-sessions with the octogenarian Sindhi nationalist, G.M. Syed are still fresh in our memory. The heirs of Ghaffar Khan are now the respected ministers in the Nawaz and Mir Afzal cabinet. And only the other day, Sardar Khair Bux Mari who was reported to be fighting with the Pak army in Balochistan during the seventies was brought back to the country from Afghanistan by the special government plane. PPP [Pakistan People's Party], we were told, was nothing but the political cover of the AZO [Al-Zulfiqur Organization] "financed and trained by Libya and India." But very senior military officers now say that "Benazir had nothing to do with the activities of Al-Zulfiqur." She remains an acknowledged and respected leader of the opposition. Who can, therefore, say with confidence that Altaf Hussain is not

embraced tomorrow as a bright and brilliant patriot of tremendous vision despite the talk of Jinnahpur and Urdu Desh today?

But it is not the establishment only which has lost its credibility. Officially run radio and television are no more believed. The so-called media experts, hired on fat salaries, by the radio and TV "corporation" were exposed way back in 1971. Though the country was fast heading towards disintegration and painful defeat at the hands of the eternal enemy not a single so-called professional was ever reported to be protesting over self-satisfying lies invented and amplified by these organisations.

Sadly the privately owned independent media was also made to toe the line of deception. With an effective management of advertisement, "advice" and precensorships the Altaf Guuhars and Mujibur Rehmans waged a psychological war against their own people. Hardly a few newspapers dared to write truth about Altaf when he was around and kicking. Those he did, no doubt pretty bravely, remained unprotected and vulnerable. And fear and anxiety still reigns supreme in Karachi "the torture cell stories" and claims made by Amir and Afaf are making no effect. Some of the tactics deliberately adopted by the MQM in the past help in making the true stories of repression and suppression sound unbelievable.

### Leadership Causing Downfall

92AS1394E Lahore *The NATION* in English 27 Jul 92  
p 8

[Article by A.R. Siddiqui: "A Case of Political Naivete"; italicized words as published]

[Text] The twain, personal charisma and political maturity may match for a while but hardly ever meet. The truism would seem to bear a striking relevance to the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] (Haq Parast) Chief Mr. Altaf Hussain's brand and style of leadership. His charismatic force and political flamboyance both had been phenomenal and without a precedence in Pakistan's political history, and his political naivete equally convincing.

Within much less than a decade he helped his fledgling MQM surpass all the old parties to rise to political stardom. His phenomenal rise to political fame and power, however, proved too much for him and his inadequate experience and awareness of the ups and downs of practical politics. Hence his sudden fall from the pinnacle and loose utterances from his self-imposed exile in London since the June 19 crackdown.

A recent interviewer described him as a man who seemed to have "spent sleepless nights and passed tension-ridden days." His voice over the telephone from London held "despair and total dejection."

Here is a lesson to learn for all those who after scaling the dizzy heights of power fail or refuse to see the fine but real distinction between self-assurance, the one essential prerequisite for a practical politician, and arrogance, prelude to his final fall.

Among the points, Mr. Hussain made in his interview, also figured his remarks (which he subsequently paraphrased) about the Chief of the Army Staff, General Asif Nawaz, quite obviously, in an expression of blinding rage than a calculated rebuff.

Asked why he had not thought it fit as yet to have "approached" the Army Chief, General Asif Nawaz who "reportedly had a soft corner" for the MQM, Mr. Hussain shot back: "Who is he? Is he the custodian of Constitution? So why should I talk to Asif Nawaz? He is just carrying out the orders of his high-ups."

Words and remarks best avoided in the interest of good manners as well as of sound practical politics. Mr. Hussain had all along been distinctly prone to using strong language in respect of his opponents—something highly undesirable at all events. Married to his Azizabad power base before his *hijrat* to London and the disaster that subsequently overtook the MQM, his unfortunate penchant for strong language could perhaps have been forgiven even if not forgotten. In his present fugitive state, however, such language carries a hollow ring besides being distasteful.

Not long ago in the middle of 1990, Gen Asif Nawaz, as Commander, 5 Corps, besides coming to the rescue of the Pucca Qila sufferers had also overseen the exchange of the MQM-PPP [Mohajir Qaumi Movement-Pakistan People's Party] activists in one another's captivity. As the Army Chief today, he shoulders the ultimate responsibility of maintaining law and order in Sindh. On the success or failure of his Operation Clean-up may well depend not only the future state of law and order in Sindh but also much of the constitutional status quo and stability of the country. The Army under General Asif Nawaz is acting as the "custodian" of the Constitution at least as far as Sindh goes.

Whether or not the MQM is a protege of an Army General, the late Mohammad Ziaul Haq can be left to those better informed than the present writer, to answer. The Army-MQM link has, nonetheless, been widely talked about without being either denied or clarified by those concerned. That may not be so important, however, from our point of view.

What truly matters is that the MQM as the representative of the so-called Urdu-speaking Mohajir community, in electoral terms, is bound to affect the interest of Mohajirs, as a whole, by word and deed. From the security of his London home, Mr. Hussain can afford to say anything he likes and hope to get away with it. Not so an ordinary Karachi or Hyderabad Mohajir (or the Mohajir community as a whole) who must live and die in Pakistan. Settled in Karachi, Hyderabad and other Sindhi towns, they must live through whatever crises

might overtake them, their cities and their country. As in the past, they cannot but look up to the armed forces (Army) for their safety and security now and in the future. In the given situation more than ever before, the wisdom of Mr. Hussain's provocative remarks about the Army Chief remains highly questionable therefore. It becomes all the more pronounced in the prevailing situation when the Mohajirs seem to be facing a crisis of identity they never faced before in the same way.

It would be well over half a year since Mr. Hussain left the country in tandem with his principal political ally, the terminally sick Sindh Chief Minister, Jam Sadiq Ali. The great Jam returned to Karachi for the wedding of his daughter, and died here within less than a month of the joyous event. Despite his excruciating aches and pains, his states of coma alternating with half of semi-consciousness, the Jam must have died a happy man having been physically present at the wedding.

Allah bless his soul: Amen!

The Jam's one loyal friend and stable pillar of his political power, Altaf Hussain, could not even make the wedding of the Jam's daughter assuredly a great event eagerly looked forward to by a loving father, his kinsfolk, and friends.

Why would not Altaf come back home at all even after so much water has flowed down the Indus to inundate, almost swallow, his deltaic power base in the southern cities of Karachi and Hyderabad? Leaves many an observer wondering.

On the day (June 19) when the earth virtually split for the MQM to devour it half or full, I received telephone calls from a couple of the MQM stalwarts—an MNA [member of National Assembly] and MPA [member of Provincial Assembly]. Around 3 or 4 pm when the calls were received that day (June 19), the military crackdown on the MQM strongholds in the city had already been underway. Both the callers sounded extremely agitated and frightened.

They spoke, partly in anger and partly in despair, about one of my columns appearing coincidentally on the eve of the crackdown. It did not take them much effort to conclude that a routinely written-piece by a retired army officer might in fact be the prelude to the military crackdown.

In the course of our desultory talk among other things, I also asked both callers what their leader has been doing in London at a time like that and through the critical weeks preceding it.

"You should now know the reason why he is not here and thank God for that!" one of callers replied, in words to that effect.

I said it is the duty of a leader to be at the helm when the going was bad regardless of his personal safety. After all the whole party high command, rank and file, their dear

and near ones were all right here in Karachi and Hyderabad. Their safety and safety of their families was important as Mr. Hussain's own.

Why then should not he be in the same boat with everybody else? Sitting across the seven seas in London, he might as well be like a general out of combat when battles were being engaged. So on and so forth in a broken sequence until abruptly cut off on both occasions.

The way the MQM has hitherto stood by Mr. Hussain is indeed something unique in Pakistan's political history where party man could change loyalties overnight for a price without a second thought.

But for how long?

Whether Altaf's supporters give up now or later, or make a stand in spite of the mounting pressures, much of the blame for the first contingency would have to go to Mr. Hussain, whereas the credit for the second would be taken by those who braved the weather without their leader.

Be that as it may, Mr. Hussain faces the ultimate test of his leadership. He owes a duty to those who followed him virtually to the hub of hell regardless of their personal safety. Mr. Hussain went to London for medical treatment and had been there ever since through a sort of a forced halt. The question is: For how much longer would he stay as a fugitive? And would he ever come back?

Upon his ability or inability, willingness or unwillingness to return home, would also depend his personal credibility as a Pakistani and leader of men, if he overextended his London sojourn for fear of a plot against his life, much of the truth about the medical exigencies would be gravely compromised and his image tarnished. Should, however, his physical condition be really so bad as to prevent him from his homeward journey, he would be hardly fit to continue bearing the cross of party leadership any further?

Mr. Hussain would be a loser in either case. His one and only chance to regain his credibility and reestablish his credentials is to come back and come back now. Come what may!

For as long as he stays out of the country for fear of his own life, he would be doing a singular disservice to the Mohajir cause.

#### New Faction Emerges

92AS1394F Lahore *The NATION* in English 20 Jul 92  
p 4

[Article by Liagat Adeel: "Another MQM Faction Being Created"]

[Text] Karachi, July 19: A new MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] is being created from within the MQM

without Altaf Hussain and "his cronies who have been involved in terrorist activities," a highly placed army source told DAWN.

The new MQM has tentatively been named "MQM Amn Pasand" to distinguish it from MQM Haq Parast and Haqiqi.

The source said unlike the Haqiqi group the Amn Pasand ("Peace-Loving") group would consist of the "saner and sober elements" in the MQM and that is why it would be a credible and representative group.

"The idea behind the creation of the Haqiqi group was negative in the sense that it was created only to have access to the terrorist and criminal elements within the MQM. But the idea behind the creation of an Amn Pasand MQM is positive as it is to encourage and help the cleaner elements among the representatives of Mohajirs and rid them of those sick persons who take sadistic pleasure in torturing those who dared to disagree with them."

The source said that the Haqiqi group had by now lost its utility. "It is a used cartridge that we fired on 19th of June. Neither the people nor the Army have any soft corner for a bunch of terrorists who had switched sides out of sheer ambition and lust for power.

On the other hand, the source said, Altaf Hussain and his cronies had been "actively involved in criminal activities" and could not be allowed to "defraud innocent people any longer."

"Therefore, there has to be a new group of leaders who can fill the vacuum created by the exposure of the real activities of some of the MQM leaders and save Mohajirs from a sense of alienation."

The source did not agree with the impression that sidelining Altaf Hussain would turn him into a martyr. "A person who lost his peace of mind after a few threats from the dissidents and left the country and his followers only to save his own life from his imaginary enemies, cannot become a martyr even if one tries to make him one."

The source said the Army was in no hurry to complete the operation. "We will take our own time. We cannot be expected to be fond of this sensitive job of maintaining law and order but we can also not be expected to leave our task incomplete. We have come to eliminate terrorists and that we shall do by all means."

The source said it was ridiculous to think that the law enforcement agencies had failed to arrest the terrorists and that they had gone underground. "Even before the operation we knew that arrests would be an uphill task in the congested city areas. Therefore, we widely propagated the launching of the operation. We thought the terrorists would leave their localities and, while running away, would get caught. But they only changed their residence within the same area. Now the Army would not like to raid these densely populated localities where

even slight resistance could lead to the death of hundreds of people. So we are waiting for them to come out of the hideouts. Sooner or later they will have to do that."

The source agreed that there were serious differences between the civilian and military establishment. "The President and the Prime Minister are more interested in the operation in the interior of Sindh. But the problem is that unlike Karachi, in the interior there are no torture cells. We know that some of the Sindhi politicians in the government as well as in the opposition are patronising dacoits, but we find it difficult to prove it. And there are criminals and dacoits who are mostly operating on their own. In such a situation it is not very easy to get hold of them. Only arresting PPP [Pakistan People's Party] workers would not solve the problem."

Commenting the statements of the Punjab Chief Minister and a Federal Minister against the army action the source, who happens to be non-Punjabi, said: "It is for the first time in the history of Pakistan that the political leadership of Punjab has confronted the army. The reason is simple: it wants to tell the army establishment that this time around it would not support the army if it tried to impose martial law. Earlier it used to be a tussle between a predominantly Punjabi army and the political leadership from smaller provinces."

The source ruled out any possibility of retaliation from the MQM. "It is amazing to see that the most organised and disciplined group collapsed like a house of cards when their offices were raided. We certainly expected some sort of resistance. Now, when we look at the whole episode, we find only one explanation: the MQM criminals got terrorised and went into hiding because of their own feeling of guilt. They did not find any justification in resisting the law enforcement agencies. That proves them to be terrorists without a cause."

### Still Commands Loyalty

92AS1394G Karachi DAWN in English 29 Jul 92 p 7

[Article by M.H. Askari: "Is the Party Over?"]

[Text] With Altaf Hussain's MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] branded a terrorist organisation and the MQM (Haqiqi) and MQM (Amn Pasand) having proved to be nonstarters, a panic search is on to locate appropriate leadership to fill the vacuum created by the resignations of MQM members from the Sindh Assembly and, incidentally, give the Mohajirs (who since 1988 have been represented by MQM) in Sindh that they should after all not regard themselves as politically orphaned.

The powers that be apparently hope that the Muslim League, which had its roots in what were known as the Muslim minority provinces in undivided India, would fill the gap resulting from the MQM's alienation from the ruling party, the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad]. The Mohajirs have also been, albeit somewhat belatedly, assured that not all of them are unpatriotic, despite

the "disclosures" about the so-called Jinnahpur and Urdu Nagar, and that the sacrifices of their forebears in the creation of Pakistan cannot be denied.

Addressing PML [Pakistan Muslim League] workers at Karachi on July 23, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, who assumed the leadership of the Muslim League in Punjab after his long association with Gen. Zia-ul-Haq's martial law regime, made an impassioned appeal to League leaders to come out of oblivion and make the organisation dynamic and effective once again.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif seems to earnestly believe that the way the Mohajir politics in Sindh has evolved over the past decade could be put behind overnight and that the successors of the political cadres who once valiantly fought for the achievement of a Muslim homeland would once again transform the League into a most popular organisation. Little does he seem to realise that the party, faction-ridden as it is and having been exploited by a succession of political opportunists, now virtually has no base among the people. Over the years it has been courted mainly by people who wish to be seen as truly patriotic Pakistanis but have little political base.

The fact is that the party is all but over, the Muslim League, to all intents and purposes, began passing into oblivion as early as the mid-fifties when large numbers of its old loyalists began to become disenchanted with the way that the party had evolved after independence. Prime Ministers handpicked by a whimsical Governor-General began to be foisted from above, to give them the locus standi to sit in the National Assembly and function as leaders of the House. Even in the provinces, the chief ministers often nominated to the top bodies of the provincial Leagues the men who were devoted to them personally. Provincial and factional identifications largely became the substance of Pakistani politics.

The Muslim League Council (which continued to be known as "All-India" even after independence) was summoned by the Quaid-i-Azam to meet in Karachi on December 14-15, 1947. According to Stanley Wolpert, some 300 members, 160 of them from India, were present and the decision was taken to split the AIML [All India Muslim League] into two separate parties, respectively confined to Pakistan and India. Declaring that as Head of State he could no longer serve as the Party's President, the Quaid-i-Azam proposed the reorganisation of the League in Pakistan and Liaquat Ali Khan was elected as Convener.

At the League's Council meeting in February 1948, Choudry Khaliquzzaman was elected President of the Pakistan Muslim League, even though it is believed that the Quaid did not favour his election and probably preferred Feroz Khan Noon for the post. At the Council meeting, the decision was taken to place a ban on chief ministers and other ministers from holding party posts. The idea apparently was to separate the party from the

government apparatus and the legislature from the executive authority, since leaders of the League's parliamentary parties automatically used to become chief ministers.

According to the Russian historian, Yuri Ponomarev, author of the Muslim League of Pakistan (1947-77) the arrangement proved ineffective as the League's new leadership "had neither the power nor the prestige which many of its former leadership holding top posts in the government possessed, and was unable to settle any differences that arose. And factional differences, unfortunately, were multiplying, both between the Centre and the provinces and within the provinces themselves."

In the situation as it obtains in Sindh today, despite unearthing of torture cells, recovery of arms from MQM strongholds and arrests of many of their activists, it is still perhaps too early to suggest that MQM as an organisation has lost its representative character in the urban areas, particularly Karachi.

On the contrary, in most of its strongholds, more banners are now to be seen proclaiming loyalty to the Quaid-e-Tehrik (and also frequently "death to the traitors") than there were after June 19 when MQM dissidents occupied several of their party's sector/unit offices. On some posters, Altaf Hussain is even portrayed sporting a military style beret!

The retired Lieut-Gen. Hamid Gul, who before his somewhat abrupt departure from the army, had held several top-level appointments, including that of the head of ISI [expansion not given], for one, believes that MQM continues to be a "well-knit and well-coordinated organisation, working according to a central design." In an interview, he has been quoted as saying that the party has decided "very cleverly" to pull out and not confront the army, but that its command system is "still functioning." The retired general also stresses that the MQM's leadership has by no means, been "destroyed," because "a leadership can only be destroyed politically." In his opinion, the party is also still not "prepared to accept any leader other than Altaf Hussain."

In any case, in the urban areas of Sindh where the MQM's breakaway has proved a real threat to IJI's strength, the Muslim League had long ago surrendered its leadership position to right-wing parties such as Jamaat-i-Islami and Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam.

After Ayub Khan decided to revive some semblance of a political system, having abrogated it on imposing martial law in October 1958, a convention of some 1,000 old Leaguers headed by Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman decided to create the Convention Muslim League which was virtually the mouthpiece of Ayub Khan's government. A rival Muslim League—to be called the Council Muslim League—was set up a meeting in Dhaka of the old Councillors of the former League, with Khwaja Nazimuddin as its President.

The rivalry between the two Leagues reached its peak during Ayub Khan's bid to seek election as President under a Constitution of his own making. The Council Muslim League in alliance with other opposition parties, put up Miss Fatima Jinnah as a rival candidate for presidentship. Despite the prestige which the Quaid's sister commanded in public mind, a number of veteran Leaguers found nothing wrong in teaming up with a group of industrialists and traders to raise a special fund to support Ayub Khan's candidature. Ayub Khan's victory was, therefore, a foregone conclusion and the casting of votes by the Basic Democrats a mere formality.

On 20th March 1969, a third faction of the League came into being, at the initiative of Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan of the NWFP [North West Frontier Province]. It teamed up with a splinter group of the convention Muslim League and took the title of Pakistan Muslim League. Thus, there were three leagues in the field when Gen. Yahya Khan, who had taken over in March 1969 following Ayub Khan's decision to withdraw from the political arena.

In the words of Ponomarev, during the period 1958 to 1971, the Pakistan Muslim League underwent a complex evolution which resulted in "a crisis of that once strong and influential party."

When following the surrender in Dhaka, the first session of the National Assembly, was held in April 1972, the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] headed by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto held 85 out of 144 seats while the three Leagues between them had 18. Even the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam secured as many seats (seven) as the Council Muslim League. The eclipse of the party which had attained the seemingly unattainable objective of creating Pakistan in 1947 was thus total and irredeemable.

The overall structure of the political parties, except perhaps that of the PPP, has since been regional and factional in Sindh, the Qayyum Muslim League [QML] temporarily formed an alliance with the Jamiat, in the hope of bidding for the formation of a coalition government—a goal which it failed to achieve. The QML and the Jamiat then formed the Sindh Islami Mahaz. Qayyum Khan ultimately decided to surrender before the massive strength of the PPP and joined Bhutto's Cabinet.

In January 1977, however, the ruling party, PPP, demonstrated its strength by parting company from QML and from this time onwards the League had presence only in Punjab and NWFP. The QML suffered a crushing defeat in the March 1977 elections and even in Punjab the PPP won 107 out of 115 constituencies.

With its leadership staying factionalised for over two decades and its rank and file in a state of utter disarray, the Muslim League will need more than Mr. Nawaz Sharif's pious hopes to be restored to even a shadow of its past glory and come out on top in the 1995 elections. Only if wishes were horses...

**Hussain Leadership in Question**

*92AS1394H Karachi DAWN in English 16 Jul 92 p 6*

[Article by A.R. Siddiqui: "Altaf's Ultimate Leadership Test"]

[Text] MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] Chief Altaf Hussain has expressed surprise over the conduct of one of his senior most partymen and a federal minister, Mr. Islam Nabi. Mr. Nabi is easily the most conspicuous deviant from Mr. Hussain's directive to his partymen—federal and provincial ministers, MNAs [members of National Assembly] and MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] to resign en masse their Assembly seats and ministerial portfolios.

The directive, by and large, has been faithfully observed and carried out by the large majority of Mr. Hussain's committed followers. Mr. Hussain could rightly congratulate himself in his tour d'force and feel as fulfilled as he can in a crisis as grave as he and his party have been up against.

However, the one agonising question being posed by all and sundry, pertains to Mr. Hussain's indefinitely prolonged absence from his party, city and the country. It would be well over half a year since he left the country in tandem with his principal political ally, the terminally sick Sindh Chief Minister, Jam Sadiq Ali.

The great Jam returned to Karachi for the wedding of his daughter and died here within less than a month of the joyous event. Despite his excruciating aches and pains, his state of coma alternating with half or semi-consciousness the Jam must have died a happy man having been physically present at the wedding.

The Jam's one loyal friend and stable pillar of his political power, Altaf Hussain, could not even make the wedding of the Jam's daughter—assuredly a great event—eagerly looked forward to by a loving father, his kinsfolk and friends.

Why would not Altaf come back home at all even after so much water has flowed down the Indus to inundate, almost swallow his deltaic power base in the southern cities of Karachi and Hyderabad?

On the day (June 19) when the earth virtually split for the MQM to devour it half or full, I received telephone calls from a couple of MQM stalwarts—an MNA and an MPA. Around 3:00 to 4:00 pm when the calls were received that day (June 19) the military crackdown on MQM strongholds in the city had already been under way. Both the callers sounded extremely agitated and frightened.

They spoke partly in anger and partly in despair, about one of my columns appearing coincidentally on the eve of the crackdown. It did not take them much effort to conclude that a routinely written piece by a retired army officer might in fact be the prelude to the military crackdown.

In the course of our desultory talk among other things, I also asked both callers what their leader had been doing in London at a time like that and through the critical weeks preceding it.

"You should now know the reason why he is not here and thank God for that!" one of callers replied, in words to that effect.

I said it was the duty of a leader to be at the helm when the going was bad regardless of his personal safety. After all the whole party high command, rank and file, their dear and near ones were all right here in Karachi and Hyderabad. Their safety and safety of their families was as important as Mr. Hussain's own.

Why then should not he be in the same boat with everybody else? Sitting across the seven seas in London, he might as well be like a general out of combat when battles were being engaged. So on and so forth in a broken sequence until abruptly cut off on both occasions.

The way the MQM has hitherto stood by Mr. Hussain is indeed something unique in Pakistan's political history where party man could change loyalties overnight for a price without a second thought.

But for how long?

Whether Altaf's supporters give up now or later, or make a stand in spite of the mounting pressures, much of the blame for the first contingency would have to go to Mr. Hussain, whereas the credit for the second would be taken by those who braved the weather without their leader.

Be that as it may, Mr. Hussain faces the ultimate test of his leadership. He owes a duty to those who followed him virtually to the hub of hell regardless of their personal safety. Mr. Hussain went to London for medical treatment and had been their ever since through a sort of a forced halt. The question is: For how much longer would he stay as a fugitive? And would he ever come back?

Upon his ability or inability, willingness or unwillingness to return home, would also depend his personal credibility as a Pakistani and leader of men, if he overextended his London sojourn for fear of a plot against his life, much of the truth about the medical exigencies would be gravely compromised and his image tarnished. Should, however, his physical condition be really so bad as to prevent him from his homeward journey, he would be hardly fit to continue bearing the cross of party leadership any further?

Mr. Hussain would be a loser in either case. His one and only chance to regain his credibility and reestablish his credentials is to come back and come back now. Come what may!

### Hussain Faces Arrest

92AS1394I Karachi DAWN in English 20 Jul 92 pp 1,7

[Text] Islamabad, July 19: Sindh Chief Minister Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah on Sunday announced his dissociation from MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] "Altaf Group" and promised to arrest Altaf Hussain on the basis of FIRs [First Information Reports] registered against him if he ever returned home.

Speaking at a press conference, Shah Sahib also did not rule out the possibility of his government seeking extradition of Altaf Hussain "if the circumstances so warrant."

He condemned in the strongest possible words the conspiracy purported to have been hatched by the MQM to create Jinnahpur by separating Karachi and Hyderabad from Pakistan.

He said his government was no more in coalition with the "Altaf group." But he would welcome back all those MQM MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] who were not involved in the terrorist activities "like the five from Haqiqi) who are not with us."

Answering a question later after the press conference was over, he said perhaps not more than three MQM MPAs at the maximum from out of the remaining 23 who were still untraceable were wanted in criminal cases.

The Chief Minister declared more than once at the press conference that there was a complete harmony between the military and the civilian leadership in the province with respect to Sindh operation but expressed lack of any knowledge about MQM's plot to form Jinnahpur as was alleged at a press briefing in Karachi by Corps commander on Saturday.

"The provincial operations committee, of which I am the head, has not yet been shown any evidence in this regard," he insisted.

He said if there was any material warranting the arrest of MQM leadership, action would be certainly taken.

Asked whether such elements in the MQM who were conspiring to dismember Pakistan should be tried for high treason, he said: "If there is material, I will subscribe to your view. I haven't seen the evidence but if there is evidence to that effect, which I do not doubt, certainly why not."

But he failed to satisfy journalists why such important evidence was not shown to him by the army when he was in charge of the provincial operational committee supervising the army action in Sindh. He tried to give an impression as if the matter was not important for his immediate attention.

"It was not a small matter but high treason and the military showed the evidence to the journalists, why not

you," asked a newsman to which Muzaffar Shah said the evidence might be brought before the committee at its next meeting.

The Chief Minister also claimed that the representatives of the central and provincial information ministries were present during the army briefings to newsmen about the operation clean up but one of the journalists pointed that no such representative was present when the army spokesman briefed the media people on MQM's Jinnahpur plan. "I will see into it," was the tame reply.

The Chief Minister was cornered by the newsmen on the issue and he was repeatedly asked whether such matters of national security were not important enough for them to be brought to his notice immediately. "We will devise some mechanism in future," was the reply.

Asked to comment on military intelligence reports, published in the press, that four of his cabinet ministers were known "Patharedars" and wanted by the army, he said no such evidence has been brought by the army during the meeting of the Provincial Operation Committee.

He also expressed his ignorance about General Shafiqur Rehman's report which had pin-pointed the excesses of the CIA [Crime Investigation Agency] under Irfanullah Marwat. "I haven't seen that report. If there is any material it should be brought before the committee," he added.

"If there is any evidence, the PCO [Public Call Office] is the forum," he said.

Questioned about the reported list of about 100 influential persons, including some MNAs [members of National Assembly] and MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] who have been directly or indirectly involved in harbouring the criminals, and were wanted by the army, Muzaffar Shah denied the existence of any such list. "Not to my knowledge," he said in reply but hastened to add that another list was being prepared jointly by the army and the civilian government. "We are compiling a list with the help of the army on the basis of information (available against them)," he said.

Questioned whether it was not a complete failure of his government that one of its coalition partner in the Sindh Government was running torture cells and terrorist activities right under the nose of the government, he said his government had no knowledge regarding MQM's activities.

"It was lack of knowledge," he said defending the failure of the government to take timely action against its coalition partner.

Asked whether it was lack of knowledge or lack of moral courage which stopped his government from taking timely action, he asserted: "Lack of knowledge."

He said it was the lack of knowledge of successive governments and recalled that MQM was also a coalition partner of PPP [Pakistan People's party] in 1988.

Muzaffar Hussain Shah supported the Army's clean-up operation in Sindh and said "right from the day one (of the operation) we share perceptions. The provincial government and army have a common perception and identity of views" he asserted while saying that his government would have no objection on delegating more powers to the army if a request was made by it. "Powers available in the Constitution can be used. If the need arises, more powers can be given but no request for delegating powers under Article 245 of the constitution has come to the Committee," he said.

The Chief Minister defended the deal in the acceptance of resignation of MQM MPAs and said the acting Speaker of the assembly was verifying the veracity of those resignations.

Asked whether the delay was because the government was trying to avert a crisis which would be created by the acceptance of these resignations, he said there would be no crisis as the by-elections would be held accordingly.

The Chief Minister also refused to seek a fresh vote of confidence from the assembly as was being demanded by the Peoples' Democratic Alliance [PDA] and said constitutionally he was bound to take a vote of confidence from the assembly only once, an exercise already carried out by him after he was elected to the office.

When pointed out that there were several precedents where the chief ministers had taken fresh votes of confidence to prove their majority in such circumstances, he said, "We don't follow precedents but the rules and the constitution."

The Chief Minister said if the Opposition was so sure that he had lost the confidence of the house, "the onus is on them to prove it." He said in that case the Opposition should bring a no-confidence motion against him as required by the constitution and "see what is in store for them."

He also lashed out at the Opposition's threat to spring "surprises" by resigning from the assembly seats and said "The surprises have not come since last two years," he remarked and added that on one hand the Opposition was declaring the assemblies as bogus but was also sitting in the same assemblies.

Criticising the Opposition for displaying undemocratic behaviour during the recent session of the assembly, he said Michael Jackson's songs were sung and "Tango dance performed" by the members of the PDA although these items were not on the order of the day of the assembly.

Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah said the Sindh has suffered the agony of law and order situation for the last eight years and some breathing time should be allowed to it. He said Sindh's problems were multidimensional and a multidimensional approach was needed to tackle them. He said the clean-up operation should be backed by social and economic package for the province where the

youths could be provided employment and development work initiated in the rural areas.

He said the provincial government was forced to request the Federal Government to provide support to the provincial government to combat law and order situation after the incidents of attacks on trains and blasting of gas and water pipelines in the province. He said the operation was being carried out even-handedly in Sindh urban and rural areas alike.

Asked to comment on the statements of Punjab Chief Minister Ghulam Halder Wyne and Federal Minister Chaudhry Nisar Ali claiming that army action was not even-handed, he said: "So far I am concerned the operation in Sindh is even-handed and fair."

The Sindh Chief Minister said that an exercise was also being carried out simultaneously to revamp and strengthen the police department. He said all those officers and policemen who were recruited during the last eight years on political basis and having connections with the anti-social elements would be purged out from the department.

He called upon all the political parties to contribute towards the success of the operation. "Sindh needs a breathing time," he said.

Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah also strongly defended President's son-in-law Irfanullah Marwat and said the allegations being leveled against him were baseless. When pointed out that General Shafiq's inquiry report had named him for his alleged involvement in crimes committed by the CIA against the political opponents, he said "I have not seen that report."

He said there were no charges, whatsoever, against him. Marwat has also refuted these charges. If there is any evidence it should be brought to the notice of the provincial government."

He informed newsmen that he was considering to convene a session of the Sindh Provincial Assembly to carry out routine business of the government but did not give any specific date.

### Hussain Still Giving Orders

92AS1394J Karachi DAWN in English 20 Jul 92  
pp 1,16

[Article by Ghulan Hasnain: "MQM Chief Contacts Leaders"]

[Text] Karachi, July 19: Sitting thousands of miles away from his home and harassed by the Operation clean-up which has driven the entire MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] leadership underground, Altaf Hussain has finally started personally contacting prominent politicians of the country to seek their help in pulling the MQM out of the present crisis.

He spoke to the DAWN from London early Sunday morning about his telephonic conversation with some of the politicians. "I spoke twice with Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, ex-Senator Maulana Kausar Niazi, Haji Ghulam Ahmed Bilour of ANP [Awami National Party] and Hafiz Hussain Ahmed of JUI [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam] and reminded them of the sacrifices and role of the MQM in the politics of Pakistan.

"I am collecting the telephone numbers of some other politicians, including Wali Khan, who is in the U.K., to seek political support from all quarters. I am ready to talk with all political and religious organisations to apprise them about the atrocities against MQM."

Referring to his talks with Nawabzada, Kausar Niazi and others, Mr. Altaf said all of them had assured him of their full support and anything they could do to help MQM come out of political wilderness.

He said Senator Ishtiaq Azhar had been authorised to hold dialogues on behalf of the MQM with all the political parties and senior politicians. Mr. Azhar was given the powers because no other leader of MQM was in a position to come out in the public.

"We don't have any criminal elements right now in MQM. We don't have any criminal. We have already expelled them from the party. All the cases registered against MQM leaders and workers are false, fabricated and concocted," he said, replying to the question whether the MQM was going to accept the reported government offer to hand over four or five of its leaders allegedly involved in criminal activities.

Mr. Altaf Hussain pointed out that if "the government did not spare even the old Ishtiaq Azhar and booked him on the charge of kidnapping, how could you blame our other leaders who had been similarly implicated in various fabricated and false criminal cases. Its too much. We have no criminal in our party," he reiterated.

Asked would this inflexibility not create a deadlock when the government was reportedly looking for a reconciliation, Mr. Altaf Hussain said: "If it were so, why thousands of MQM workers have been arrested? Why all the offices of MQM were raided by the law enforcement agencies? And why a nefarious and character assassination campaign has been launched by the government."

So do you mean you would not compromise. Without giving a direct answer, he said: "What I want to say is that we don't have any criminals and that's enough."

The MQM chief said forces of exploitation did not want the democratic process to continue. "Political parties should be treated politically. victimisation of political forces is very dangerous. Democratic-minded people should think about it," he added.

Mr. Altaf Hussain said any party which had the public mandate should be given power and allowed to run the government. What was happening now was regrettable.

Asked how he felt about an MQM without him—an idea that was being circulated now both within and outside the MQM, Mr. Altaf Hussain declared that there was only one MQM and there would be only one. "There is no faction in MQM. Those who are not in MQM can form their own party. The MQM will remain united. Those who are loyal to MQM, will remain loyal. You can't change loyalties by force."

Commenting on the alleged resignation withdrawal letters of MQM MPAs [Member of Provincial Assembly], Mr. Altaf Hussain termed them a forgery by the government. "The Sindh Government should be dissolved immediately and must be tried for this fraud with the elected representatives of the people. And I mean it."

Referring to his comments about the Army, made in an interview with DAWN published on Friday, excerpts of which were carried by some Urdu newspapers, the MQM chief said he respected Gen. Asif Nawaz as Chief of the Army Staff and when he had said "Who is he," it was not meant to hurt is feelings.

He said the remark had been made in response to a question about the constitutional position and role of the President.

#### Judicial Decision Needed

92AS1394K Islamabad *The MUSLIM* in English  
31 Jul 92 p 7

[Article by A.S. Iftikhar: "Only Judicial Decision Can Solve MQM Problem"; italicized words as published]

[Text] I claim to be an honest, law-abiding and peace-loving citizen, and also a so-called Mohajir. I came to Pakistan by choice. I am not a businessman and did not choose to come to Pakistan in search of "greener pastures." I witnessed the growth of the Pakistan Movement from a mere concept to a massive peoples' struggle. I knew that Pakistan would be established on a different soil. Indian Muslims had little to gain and, possibly, a great deal to lose. In fact, Maulana Maudoodi laid stress on this aspect during some of his speeches in India. Never before had Indian Muslims united in such an impressive fashion. To be honest and we should never forget it—Indian Muslims are still paying a price for the creation of Pakistan. Practical difficulties and other compulsions apart, every single Muslim man and woman had earned a right to come and live in Pakistan.

Why did I make this difficult choice? It is not easy to pull oneself away from one's roots. History and geography demand, and receive, strong emotional attachment. It was because I felt that my entire way of life was at stake. Belonging to a minority is not a happy experience anywhere in the world but I was faced with a situation in which my language, my tradition, my cultural roots were threatened. Jawaharlal Nehru used to say that India was like a sponge which absorbed everything that came into contact with it. It was not willing to be absorbed. My fear was of a dominant majority which considered me an

alien, an unwanted child of foreign conquerors who refused to leave, an unwelcome citizen devoted to his own values against superstitious Hindu codes of conduct. In this system of values, my religion apart, the most important pillar was my language, Urdu. It was the finest achievement of eighteenth century India; not just a laser beam but a representative of a rich culture and tradition.

Let me quote a few lines from the speech delivered by the Quaid-i-Azam at Dhaka University on 24 March 1948. He said, "The state language must, therefore, be Urdu, a language that has been nurtured by a hundred million Muslims of the subcontinent, a language understood throughout the length and breadth of Pakistan and, above all, a language which, more than any other provincial language, embodies the best that is in Islamic culture and Muslim tradition..."

It is a chilling thought that I should now be accused of belonging to a linguistic group, when the language in question is the national language, without which it would have been impossible to win Pakistan and without which Pakistan can never achieve its true national identity. And what do I mean by way of life? It is an atmosphere, an environment, encompassing conduct, behaviour, dress, manners, food, music, customs, and so on.

Let me confine myself to just one facet. Conduct, manners and behaviour were, among others, influenced by three important factors: Islamic Humanism, Mughal Court legacy and British liberalism. The first was the gift of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti and his disciples; there was not a single Muslim family in the whole of Northern and Central India which had not visited Ajmer and Delhi or did not plan to do so. The legacy of the Mughal Court showed itself in various forms; there was superficiality and hypocrisy but it also implied a certain amount of grace and elegance. What we call refinement was an integral part of this otherwise degenerated institution.

British Liberalism came through the efforts of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. It was a strange mix but it had its own character. Modes of address were polite; parents and uncles and aunts and elder sisters were treated with visible affection and respect even servants were addressed as *Aap* and loudness of speech was frowned upon. Even crimes were of a civil nature; cheating, fraud, embezzlement, etc., as can be verified by a number of accounts left behind by British officers who served in Northern India. It was a stagnant, inward-looking society by all means but violence was not a part of its culture. A typical humourous character was Chacha Chchakkan who was afraid of touching a gun even when unloaded. Guns were totally alien to this way of life. How did it happen that a community with this background fell under the spell of a gang which is being accused of the worst kind of violence and terrorism? Has any one tried to investigate this puzzling phenomenon?

I decided to come to Pakistan to be a Pakistani. I had, then, no desire to become a Sindhi or a Balochi. Assimilation is a natural process but I was not ready to submit

to force. Initially, I resented being called a refugee or a Mohajir. It negated all that I had struggled for. So, where did this unfortunate divide begin?

I can still recall some remarkable acts of generosity. But when the novelty wore off, the first question on meeting anyone speaking Urdu and wearing a *kurta-pyjama* used to be: Are you a Mohajir? This could have been a harmless question and, probably was. But it disclosed a lurking feeling that there was a stranger in the house. The greed of acquiring evacuee property exacerbated feelings. Then came unfortunate episodes like the Sindh Language Bill and the quota system.

As if Sindh was the only province with educated urban areas and underdeveloped rural areas while other rural areas were so developed that they faced no threat from urban areas. The issue needed a national approach to provide reasonable job opportunities to residents of all backward rural areas where adequate education facilities were not available. When communities feel threatened with discrimination, the crucial factor never is the correctness of their view but the fact that strong feelings of discrimination exist. Once the feeling grows and grips the entire community, it falls back on some unifying common factor.

This is exactly what happened in India. It was not possible for Mohajirs to fall back on religious or tribal or regional loyalties. They decided to clutch at the appellation which they believed was the indicator of their identity. This was the time when we needed a national leader with imagination and vision. Alas this creature is not found in Pakistan. In such an event it is easy to fall a victim to the harangue of persons who exaggerate differences and ignore stable common factors. Human nature has always been prone to such exploitation.

I am not a supporter of MQM. I believe that a proliferation of political parties based on narrow loyalties is a serious impediment in the way of creating awareness of national issues. But the unfortunate reality is that there are all varieties of all hues and colours of Jamaats and Jamiat and Anjumans and Tehriks as well as totally ethnic splinter groups claiming to represent Pashtoon tribes, Baloch tribes, Sindhi interests and so on. How can any reasonable person find fault with MQM for playing its own tune and collecting its adherents on the basis of an emotional appeal? No one can deny that it did its homework efficiently and its organisational capability should be the envy of other political parties. The number of its members, supporters, and sympathisers runs into millions.

It would be foolish to try to stamp it out by force. General Ziaul Haq tried his best to kill PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and failed miserably. Instead of making heavily loaded statements and having them published, the only sane way would be to frame positive charges and have them proved under recognised processes of the law. As far as I have been able to gather from press reports,

there are two really serious charges against MQM leadership; one relates to torture cells, the other to creating an independent state to be called Jinnahpur or Urdu Desh. Torture cells imply victims of torture. Some of them must have been traced; others must be found, their evidence should be recorded and a judicial decision obtaining. But I will be surprised if a government in Pakistan can do so with a clear conscience.

Thousands of torture cells are dotted all over Pakistan in the shape of police stations where men are tortured and women are raped as a matter of course. So many of our committed political activists had known intellectuals were tortured in Lahore Fort. Has any government ever thought of punishing these culprits or of framing stringent laws to eradicate the evils of police violence? Quite the contrary. Policemen are the blue-eyed boys of all governments ready to play any despicable role allotted to them. This is how torture and violence have been legitimised. They have become sordid facts of our daily lives, with which we were taught to learn to live.

If we want to live a civilised life, this cancer will have to be eliminated. The second serious charge amounts to treason. Here, a good precedent is available. Mr. Bhutto filed a reference in the Supreme Court against NAP [National Awami Party] and sought a judicial decision. The same should be done in the case of MQM. If Government fails to take judicial action under the law and restricts itself to indiscriminate arrests and published stories in the press, it will confer a halo of martyrdom on the MQM leadership and the party will rise again, as did PPP after 1983.

**PDA Demands Ishaq Khan's Immediate Resignation**  
92AS1349B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English  
18 Jul 92 p 12

[Article by Arif Jamal: "Ishaq's Resignation Only Way Out: PDA"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Islamabad, 17 Jul—The Central Coordination Committee of the Peoples Democratic Alliance [PDA] asked President Ghulam Ishaq Khan to resign immediately.

In a PDA resolution, released by Iqbal Haider, Central Information Secretary, the Coordination Committee said, "there is no other recourse for the nation now but to force his resignation."

The resolution also demanded dissolution of Federal and Provincial governments and legislatures which came into being as a consequence of rigged elections. It demanded that neutral governments of national consensus be entrusted with the task of holding free and fair elections in the country.

The resolution said only President Ghulam Ishaq Khan was responsible for all the crises being faced by the country. "He has consistently sacrificed national interest at the alter of personal vendetta" and has undermined all

the national institutions including the judiciary, the executive, the armed forces and others to give effect to a warped vision.

The strongly worded resolution said the President has usurped the people's rights to liberty, the right of free speech and association and shown his hatred for the elected representatives of the people.

The resolution asked for the trial of the President on treason charges for supporting separatists in all the provinces of the country. The MQM was a terrorist organisation which was running torture and rape cells as well as extortion rackets with the full backing of the President. President encouraged this organisation just to crush the PPP, the resolution said.

The resolution was very critical of President's attitude towards operation clean-up in Sindh. It alleged that the President was out to sabotage it by asking the army to go easy on criminals and terrorists. It said, "the President does not want any good to happen in the country."

The son-in-law of the President, Irfan Ullah Marwat, the resolution said, was involved in heinous crimes like rape, murder, kidnapping for ransom, but nobody could bring him to justice.

The resolution regretted that no action had been taken against the officials of the Prime Minister [PM] Secretariat who had been looting the poor people through the blind Qari. The officials of the PM Secretariat, the resolution alleged, had extorted 80 million rupees but the Prime Minister has turned his back to this injustice.

The resolution lashed out at the Prime Minister for illegally monopolising his relatives' property. It said it was the worst example of state terrorism. It criticised the Prime Minister for using police terror against his own relatives. It said, "the person who has deprived his own relatives of their property cannot protect his nation's rights."

Iqbal Haider told the Press that the PDA was planning to hold a rally on 30 July in Karachi against the lawlessness and the unconstitutional way the Sindh Assembly was handled.

**Valid Reasons for PDA Continuing Outlined**  
92AS1349A Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English  
18 Jul 92 p 6

[Editorial: "PDA Must Not Succumb to Its Chain of Frustrations"]

[Text] The People's Democratic Alliance [PDA] seems to be unable to shed its habit of speaking incoherently and far too frequently for its own good. Now it is threatening to resign en masse from all legislatures, including the federal. There are scores of very valid reasons why it shouldn't be contemplating anything of the kind. Politics of resignation is patently politics of withdrawal. It is

negative expression of a mood rooted in grievance. However genuine the grievance the PDA might have—and most of their grievances are without doubt genuine—resignation is unlikely to procure the needed remedy. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is quite happy and would like to see the PDA out of the assemblies. He can hardly wait to hold by-elections. He knows the art of winning elections against Himalayan odds. He has his experts. Didn't he win the 1990 elections, turning the country's 1988 picture upside down? More recently, his man won hands down in the late Jam Sadiq Ali constituency. No wonder Mr. Nawaz Sharif has gleefully welcomed the PDA's reported toying with the idea of relinquishing their not inconsequential presence in the national and provincial legislatures. PDA would be most ill advised to let its sense of grievance get the better of its political commonsense.

For his part, Premier Nawaz Sharif has let the cat out of the bag. He is almost admitting that he has made the life of his political opponents (also critics in non-political positions) so unendurably miserable that they have started talking loudly of giving up the ghost. To say the very least, it is most indequate for a Prime Minister tirelessly boasting of overwhelming majority behind him, to talk to the opposition so dismissively. If his democratic pretensions have an iota of truth, he ought to be advising the PDA against any idea of vacating their seats in the National and provincial legislatures. Instead, he should have invited the opposition leadership for an earnest discussion of their complaints and grievances. Clearly, Mr. Nawaz Sharif is substituting sniffling arrogance for his diminishing self-confidence. This sort of Dutch courage is not quite the way to enhance one's stock when it may be on the decline.

The People's Democratic Alliance is admittedly not the grouping which would scare anyone in Pakistan of today. But the PDA leadership would be doing itself less than good if it developed any sense of inferiority and helplessness. No doubt, the PDA has received a most shabby and distasteful treatment from the government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Sadly, the President hasn't cared to help heal the rift. As an elder statesman it was his moral as well as political duty to do that. Instead he has given the appearance of being less than impartial and not always disinclined to take a hand in matters he had better left alone. The PDA have solid reasons to be unhappy, but none to be hopeless. The government of Mr. Nawaz Sharif is unwittingly cooperating with the opposition by an unending chain of political indiscretions and administrative bloopers. The PDA has more goodwill than it perhaps realises. It ought to be building upon it, regardless of the obstructions deliberately contrived by the governments, national as well as provincial. This is not the end of the world. Now, a word to the Prime Minister. Please try to put your fingers on the pulse of the nation. Or, even before that, look back on your government's performance. There is not a corner in your cupboard where you do not have a skeleton lurking. There is no harm in self-analysis. If you do not have such

trained minds which can make an unbiased assessment of your government's record to date, please hire some from abroad. Some Satchis & Satchis, for instance. Things are not as rosy as you might think or as your radio and television would like you to think. You want to complete your term. Another two years or so in office. That is, another two years or so of making mistakes! Another point to ponder is that when the next general elections do come round you may not necessarily have the kind of expertise available which made your 1990 triumph possible. We live in a fast changing world, even in Pakistan. Tomorrow is another day.

### Commentary Urges Creation of Additional Provinces

92AS1365B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 20 Jul 92 p 3

[Article by Tauqeer Qureshi: "New Provinces Should Be Formed in Pakistan"]

[Text] Recently we read an article entitled, "The Enigma of the Pakistan Federation," by Mirza Javad Beg published in the newspaper JASARAT. We agree with the writer's views but disagree with his suggestion about 19 provinces because some of these provinces would be very large and, in our view, any federation that would be formed by ending the individual identity of small units that joined Pakistan from 1947 to 1945 would be unpleasant, unacceptable, and unjust. From 1947 to 1945, two dozen areas joined Pakistan among which 16 [sic] were Khairpur, Dir, Swat, Silit, Qilat, Gawadar, Las Bela, Makran, Menawadar; five were federally administered areas namely, British Baluchistan, Chingam [sic], Hills Track Northern area (Gilgit and Baltistan), FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas) and Federal area (federal capital). The four provinces were Bengal, Punjab, Frontier, and Sindh. Out of the 25 areas, one province (Bengal), one state (Silit) and one Federal area (Changam [sic]), three areas in all, were part of East Pakistan; the remaining 22 areas were included in West Pakistan. Out of the 22 areas, two (Junagadh and Menawadar) have passed into Indian hands and are thus not included in Pakistan's present boundaries. Twelve of the twenty federal entities, which were within Pakistan's boundaries, were absorbed into the four provinces to increase their size and influence. Only one state, Free Kashmir, was left intact as well as three Federal areas; hence, there are now eight units in Pakistan: one state (Free Kashmir); three federally administered areas (Northern area, Tribal area, Federal area), and four provinces (Sindh, Punjab, Frontier, Baluchistan). This system is wrong and should be ended as soon as possible. The present administrative divisions took place under the direction of an illegal ruler, General Yahya Khan, and were motivated by his reprehensible objectives. The arrangement does not have public support because it was not voted on. At any rate, we think that the Pakistan federation should consist of 38 provinces. In the initial stage, the four existing federal units, namely, Free Kashmir, Northern area (Dardestan), Tribal area, and Federal

area (Islamabad), should become provinces. The following 12 divisions should also become provinces: Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Dera Ismail Khan, Rawalpindi (Potowar), Gujranwala, Lahore, Multan, Faisalabad, Sargodha, Dera Ismail Khan, and Karachi Division. [sentence as published] The four divisions into which the former British Baluchistan has been divided, namely, Quetta, Zhob (Nur Allai), Basti, and Nasirabad should be made provinces. The following 12 former states should also become provinces: Bahawalpur, Asab (Malakand), Chitral, Manza [?], Kharan, Khairpur, Dir, Swat, Qilat, Gawadar (former boundaries), Las Bela, and Makran. The following six geographical areas should also become provinces: Lar, Surur, Wacholo, Kacho (Arab as Sind), Thar, and Kafiristan (Kailas).

Creating 38 provinces will restore the identity of some of the former federal units, and create variety because some

of the provinces would be historical, others geographical; none of them would be much larger than the others. Some of the provinces would be very small [sic]; 17 provinces in the interior would be landlocked and there would be no boundary provinces (at present all four of the provinces are border ones). Twenty-one provinces would be border provinces [sic].

Administration of these provinces would become easier and the people would soon become familiar with them. Large landowners would not sustain any losses; the provinces would be administered efficiently; the participation of the people in the affairs of the country would increase; all political parties would benefit, for their members would be bound to win a large majority in the assembly of at least one of the 38 provinces. If these provinces are established through good will and perseverance, many benefits are bound to accrue.

**Sharif Seeks Enforcement of Islamic Law**  
**92AS1416A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English**  
**3 Aug 92 p 1**

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 2: Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif said here on Sunday evening that he will introduce a new amendment in the constitution to enforce the Holy Quran and the "Sunnah" as the supreme law of the land.

The Prime Minister said the draft of the proposed amendment in the constitution was being prepared.

The amendment he said, was planned to be introduced in the National Assembly session scheduled to open here on Monday.

The Prime Minister made this disclosure at a briefing session for newspaper editors from all over the country.

Mohammad Nawaz Sharif said the proposed amendment would go a long way to enforce Islam and will fulfill the long-standing demand of the people.

The briefing session lasted more than two hours. The Prime Minister answered questions from the editors covering a wide-spectrum of the national and international questions. There was a free exchange of views between the Prime Minister and the editors.

The Prime Minister began the session by saying that he would like to hear more from the editors and the journalists, and would then offer his comments.

The session was also attended by Mian Abdul Sattar Lalika, Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Chaudhri Nisar Ali, Advisor to the Prime Minister and Minister for Petroleum and Natural Resources, Haji Mohammad Akram, Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, and senior aides of the Prime Minister.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif, replying to questions, said that the references filed in various courts against corruption and misuse of power by the previous government "should reach their logical conclusion." The cases point out the fact that such malpractices did take place during the previous government's rule, and that these acts should not be repeated in future.

He expressed the hope that the cases will proceed expeditiously.

The Prime Minister said the question of repatriation of the Pakistanis stranded in Bangladesh will be discussed with Begum Khalida Zia, Prime Minister of Bangladesh during her forthcoming visit to Pakistan.—APP

**Sharif Islamization Policy Called 'Political Hoax'**  
**92AS1420F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English**  
**4 Aug 92 p 4**

[Editorial: "Playing Politics With Sacred Issues Is Not Fair"; italicized words as published]

[Text] It appears that Prime Minister [PM] Nawaz Sharif is not very sure of himself. Otherwise what is this promise, once again, to introduce legislation to reinforce Islam in this Islamic Republic of Pakistan in aid of? Talking to a huge gathering of invited editors and column writers, Mr. Nawaz Sharif let only his intention to ensure the "supremacy of the Koran and Sunna" go on record. To assume that the entire 150-minute chit-chat was actually organised to give the nation this bit of news may or may not be correct. But few intelligent citizens are likely to be hugely amused by this announcement which does have some pretty odd angularities about it. First, the timing: on the eve of a fresh session of the National Assembly which commenced yesterday (Monday). Second, the fact that the Nawaz Sharif government never had fewer MNAs [members of National Assembly] on its side in the life of the present House. This factor, though made very little of by the PM, could have induced a subconsciously perceived sense of debility. Hence, the need to return to harp upon Islam which has so often been the refuge of governments having run out of ideas. About Mr. Nawaz Sharif's strategy of governance it has to be admitted that once the privatisation theme is exhausted there is a wide void. So wide indeed that resort to Islam becomes altogether inevitable.

Jokes apart, one must inquire from the Prime Minister what exactly he is driving at. As far as Islam is concerned, the people of Pakistan don't need Mr. Nawaz Sharif or his government or the so-called *Ulema* and *Mashaikh* patronised and retained by his government. They know their Islam and they would be perfectly happy to practise it without any aid or assistance from anyone. And least of all from Mr. Nawaz Sharif and whatever education he imbibed at a college which once was called the Princes' College (set up by the British imperialists to spoil the sons of the Princes of those times whose ancestors had served the East India Company). Mr. Nawaz Sharif has absolutely no reason to feel better qualified to Islamise the citizens or the State of Pakistan than anyone else. The use of state power to play with Islam would make this particular exercise so much the less acceptable for it.

The Prime Minister has also to answer the question why another piece of legislation is needed with the Shariat Act already on the statute book? Does he mean roundly to confess that the Shari'a Act, the Nawaz Sharif government's *magnum opus* Mark II (that is, after the Lahore-Islamabad motorway) was incomplete, inadequate, diluted, misconceived or whatever? As far as one can see, the PM is playing pure politics and of not a very respectable variety. That is his unquestionable right as a

politician. But his right to play or trifl with politics most definitely does not include toying with Islam to avoid any embarrassment or to score an extra point against his opposition. The declaration of the supremacy of the Koran and Sunna is no more brilliant an idea than to say the sun rises in the east and sets in the west. Is the supremacy of the Koran and Sunna a Nawaz Sharif discovery and now his copyright? What fact or fiction of life or politics of this country invests him or his government to spell out Islam for the rest of the Pakistani nation of fairly even-headed Muslims, many even devout Muslims? This is clearly a piece of wholly unacceptable arrogance on the part of the Prime Minister and he would be well advised not to take those airs of supreme piety. His qualifications are not beyond question.

On the face of it, the revival of Gen. Zia tactics is perhaps a case of involuntary reflex. If it is a deliberate act of politicking, then the only possible explanation is to be one up on the Opposition. The idea most probably is to present the Opposition with a proposition on which it may not be able to oppose. But if the Opposition has its wits about it, there should be absolutely no difficulty in exposing this new Islamisation ploy as a political hoax. No intelligent citizen can have anything to do with it. It is not worth touching with a bargepole. One should have thought after 20 months in office Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif would show signs of maturing.

### Shortcomings Seen in Iranian Islamic Model

92AS1317C Lahore THE NATION in English 15 Jul 92  
p 8

[Article by Mohammad Soaib Adil: "Iran's Islamic Revolution"]

[Text] Iran's Islamic Revolution led by the great Iman Khomeini is acknowledged as the most important event of the Islamic history of our times. Initially it was started against the tyrannical rule of the Shah of Iran but as it was led by the ulema of the country so it became popular among the Muslim masses as the Iranian Islamic Revolution.

The upholders of Nizam-i-Islam in various Muslim countries were all-praise for this revolution. They appreciated it in such a way that gave the impression that they would devote their energies for similar revolutions in their countries. The militant Muslims of Iran also declared to export it to the other Muslim countries.

Apparently the first target of this exercise would have been those Muslim countries where the monarchs ruled. But more than a decade has passed since the success of the revolution, its supporters could not convince the Muslim masses of the other countries about the Islamic nature of this revolution.

Most of the present-day Muslim monarchs are the allies of the U.S.A. Deposing of these monarchs would have created problems for the American government, so it

started a vicious propaganda campaign against the Iranian Revolution. It nicknamed the ulema of Iran as fundamentalists who, according to the viewpoint of the American government, were throwing the Muslims to the dark ages.

Fundamentalism means return to the pure teachings of Islam and there is no harm in calling a Muslim, who strives to return to these pure teachings, a fundamentalist. But the Muslims of the world including the Iranians have not achieved this objective fully. The most important teachings of Islam is about the financial system of Islam which eliminates the capitalist system while the capitalist system of economy still prevails in almost all the Islamic countries.

Some eight years back, the present writer had a chance to discuss this issue with Mr. Abu Sharif who at that time was the Ambassador of Iran in Pakistan. He was himself a religious scholar of repute. He agreed that the land of Iran like that of Pakistan falls under the category of Kharaji. According to Islamic law, these lands are treated as the property of the Islamic State and there is no justification for any absentee landlord in any Islamic country. It is one of those issues on which the jurists of all the schools of Islamic Jurisprudence including those of the Jafriah school totally agreed. Imam Jafar Sadiq, the founder of the Jafriah school, had issued the following verdict on the issue:

'All the jurists of Islam unanimously agree that all the lands of the countries conquered by the Muslims are the joint property of all the Muslims or Islamic State irrespective of the fact whether they actually participated in the conquest of these lands or were born after it. These lands will remain the joint property of the Muslims for all the times to come and their income spent on their welfare.' (Fiqh al Imam Jafar Vol II, P-227).

According to this verdict, the lands of Iran are the property of the Islamic state of Iran and there is no place for a single absentee landlord in whole of the country. Income from these lands is technically known as Kharaj which is spent to meet the day-to-day expenditure of the Islamic state. Such a huge amount of revenue can be collected from this source that it will be sufficient for all the expenses of the government. As a result, the jurists of all the school of Islamic Jurisprudence issued a unanimous verdict that no mundane tax can be levied along with the Nizam-i-Zakat, the financial system of Islam. In short Islam eliminated capitalist system of economy which is usually based on thousands of taxes.

Mr. Abu Sharif, the Ambassador of Iran, had told me that this issue was being discussed by the ulema and would soon be enforced in the country. But full eight years have passed and the Iranian Government have not enforced the financial system of Islam. Capitalist system of economy still prevails there.

It was due to this shortcoming that the Iranian Islamic Revolution could not impress the masses in other Muslim countries. Had it adopted the financial system of

Islam, it would have pleasant effects of the Muslims of other countries. Financial system of Islam which is basically free from all worldly taxes convinces the believers that Islam is blessing for them.

The Iranian Government is still in a position to adopt the financial system of Islam and eliminate the capitalist system of economy. It, in the light of Islamic law, will have to declare that all the lands of the country are the property of the State. Revenue from these lands which is presently being misappropriated by the absentee landlords is actually the revenue of the State and it should be spent on the day-to-day expenses of the state. If the Iranian government is reluctant to do so than its claim that the Iranian Revolution is an Islamic Revolution will not be accepted. It was a revolution against the King and it was not an Islamic Revolution.

### **Overcoming of Sectarianism Seen Pressing National Issue**

92AS1416F Karachi DAWN in English 16 Jul 92 p 7

[Editorial: "The Demon of Sectarianism"]

[Text] The Shia-Sunni clashes in Peshawar, which have left over a dozen people dead are a grim reminder of the forces of intolerance and bigotry that cast their shadows over Pakistan today. There is nothing very unusual for religious passions to boil over during the month of Muharram. But what is unusual, and not a little frightening, is the menacing edge that has come to be acquired by the problem of sectarianism ever since various religious denominations started turning themselves into militant organisations. This has changed the sectarian situation in Pakistan so much that, as events in Peshawar eloquently testify, a small spark is enough to set a bonfire ablaze. How did the trouble start? Who is responsible for it? How did events spin out of control? These are questions whose fine edges have been blurred by the intensity of the violence gripping Peshawar. And yet a proper investigation must be held at an appropriate level, so that responsibility for these violent incidents is fixed and the culprits duly punished. No doubt social madness at all times is ugly and dangerous. But madness driven by the demons of sectarian hatred still falls in a class by itself. And to think that in a sense we are all to blame for it. When we have seen the seeds of intolerance sprouting around us, and we have done nothing to arrest their development, then it is a collective failure that we are talking about.

Since the army is now patrolling Peshawar, sooner or later peace will, hopefully, return to that riot-torn city. But the damage has been done. One more layer of hatred has been added to the sum-total of sectarian animosity spreading across the country. It is this aspect of the problem—its long-term and lasting dimensions—that deserves the closest attention. In the past governments have turned a blind eye to the forces of religious frenzy either because of moral cowardice or political expediency. It is time that laissez faire attitude came to an end.

In whatever form and wherever sectarianism raises its head the government must do everything in its power to crush it. Or else the fabric of society, already under great strain, will be torn apart by it. This makes it all the more important to grasp the wider issue of intolerance and bigotry in our society. The more the state at its highest levels panders to these forces, and the more we as a nation remain stuck in theological disputes that have little relevance to the everyday world, the more will we create a climate conducive for sectarianism to flourish in. Matters would be different if the religious leaders of the community could be made to moderate the passions which they bring to their doctrinal disputes. Sadly, however, those who should be leveling the barriers of hatred and misplaced enthusiasm are often the first to erect them. It is for the political leadership, therefore, to take a firm stand against that which pits a Muslim against his fellow-Muslims. The time to wake up to the seriousness of the problem is now. Otherwise, Peshawar will be but a milestone on a long and difficult road.

### **End of Shia-Sunni Clashes Called For**

92AS01367B Lahore ZINDAGI in Urdu 18 Jul 92  
pp 4-5

[Editorial: "Elimination of Shia-Sunni Conflict - A Basic Necessity"]

[Text] The tenth day of Muharram was the martyrdom day of Hazrat Hussein. He was the nephew of the Prophet and is respected and revered by every Muslim. There is no Muslim that does not know about Hazrat Hussein and his position. The opinion he formed before the Karbala accident is accepted by people even now. There were people who opposed his stand in every era. There are those who support his political stand even now; however, his personality was such that no Muslim ever dared to speak against him. Every Muslim thinks that disrespecting him means endangering of one's faith. Every religious Muslim considers respecting the home of Allah more important than respecting his own home.

In spite of this, every year when the date of his martyrdom arrives, the fears of a Shia-Sunni fight emerge. By the grace of God, this period passes. This year, when there were no riots in Punjab, the chief minister issued a statement praising himself for his administrative skills. The federal minister of information and broadcasting thanked the newspapers for maintaining an atmosphere of unity during this time. There were some riots in Peshawar, and nine people lost their lives on the very first day. The whole country was affected by it. It does not matter whether the people killed were Sunni or Shia. The death of any person is a personal loss to any Muslim or Pakistani.

The question arises: How can we stop such incidents? How can we celebrate the Muharram quietly and peacefully? How can we stop the increasing disagreement between the Shia and Sunni sects of Pakistan? We do not hesitate in saying that our enemies in Sarhad and Punjab

are not succeeding in starting ethnic or racial riots, and that the land in this region is not proving to be fertile for such fights. They are starting the Shia-Sunni problem. This is to let a Punjabi kill a Punjabi and a Pathan kill a Pathan with great pleasure. The great walls of hatred have been erected in Sindh on ethnic and racial bases. They are also trying to drown Balochistan in this wave. However, they have found another recipe for Punjab and Sarhad.

What is important is to destroy the enemy's conspiracies and eliminate all the criminals in whose presence the enemy succeeds in attacking us and spreading the disease of hatred.

A quick review of the situation reveals the fact that the feelings of the Sunni majority are being ignored. The surprising and openly known difference between the Shia and Sunni sects is that all associates of the Prophet are considered sacred by the Shia. Making an insulting remark to any of these associates jeopardizes one's religion; however, our Shia brothers are not like that. The Shia have different opinions about the post-Prophet leaders. They are not satisfied until they criticize their role and personality. Irresponsible maulvis and religious scholars express their opinions in such a way that listeners burn with anger. They publish articles that make their readers so angry that they wish they did not have any reading comprehension. They wish they were blind, so that they could not read such words.

These days, when even using sharp and inappropriate words against political leaders is considered bad manners, and the law guarantees the honor and good name of every citizen, how can we permit any sect to insult another sect, which has 95 percent of Pakistani Muslims as its members?

There should be a law giving strict sentences to people who insult the religious prophets and leaders. The serious Shia scholars and the people should also help identify the irresponsible people from their own ranks.

We are sure that if proper arrangements are made and Shia and Sunni leaders sit down and discuss things properly, the situation can be improved. We do not support slogans such as "kafir and Shia kafir." These slogans are the results of emotionalism and irresponsibility. In our learned opinion, it should be declared a

crime to even raise such slogans. At the same time, the law should also take responsibility to protect the pious names of the holy saints.

We know very well that religious emotions are very sensitive. A very minor injury can break up the whole system. In our opinion, Shias and Sunnis are like two eyes on one face. Therefore, we beg the blessing of God that we do not stir emotions about our religion. We hope that our Shia brothers will realize their responsibilities and that the Sunni majority will also keep itself under control.

There is news that restrictions are being imposed on Anjuman Sipahe Sahaba. Any person who knows the facts will say that it is hard to distinguish between this organization and the Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Fiqah-i-Jafria.

We want to tell the government that both these organizations should be treated equally. If restrictions are imposed, then they should be on both organizations. Both organizations should be invited and convinced to follow the philosophy of live and let live. They should be forced to follow the rules and be made to follow them strictly. Forcing our beloved country into a new crisis is not serving it. No Sunni or Shia should be committed to taking revenge against society and endangering the security of the nation because of his emotional turmoil.

Pakistan's Shia brothers should remember that their country is Pakistan. Afghanistan is a Sunni majority nation. The refugees who came from Afghanistan were mostly Sunni. In spite of this fact, they never accepted Pakistan as their country. They called themselves refugees or mohajirs, spending many years in refugee camps. They did not use the fact of their being Sunni to request Pakistani citizenship, nor did Pakistan offer them citizenship. Iran is our other neighbor, and we have had cultural and geographic relations for centuries. Iran is a Shia majority country. Its president must be a Shia. However, this does not mean that Pakistani Shias can become Iranian citizens. Their dignity and respect is in their own country. Therefore, it does not matter how optimistic they are about getting support from Iran. The basis of this hope is very weak. Iranian government officials are wise and knowledgeable. They are able to analyze facts. Therefore, we should not have such expectations or give any impressions that might worsen matters in Iran.

The Sunnis have as much right in Pakistan as do our Shia brothers. This is the home of both of them, and they both should consider it their home. They should deal with domestic problems as they would in their own homes.

### **Finance Minister Accused of Releasing False Statistics**

92AS1420J Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English  
2 Aug 92 p 5

[Text] Lahore, Aug 1: Central Information Secretary of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], Salman Taseer has lashed out at Federal Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz for telling bundle of lies about the economy of Pakistan.

Addressing a Press conference here on Saturday, he threw light on the different aspects of the economy including the conditions of foreign exchange reserves, textiles, investment, inflation, government borrowing and financial scandals.

His paper readout at the press conference said that Sartaj Aziz has once again issued an appraisal of the Pakistan economy which is a tissue of lies and misrepresentation. Before the annual budget the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] carried out a similar exercise changing the deficit "by as much as 200 percent" till it was finally accepted that the annual deficit has reached the astronomical figure of Rs[rupees]100 billion as a result of the fiscal irresponsibility and waste of the IJI.

The denationalisation programme and methodology has been changed again and again and the rules tailored to suit their favourites. Similarly, they lied over the estimated annual revenue receipts, foreign exchange reserves and administrative expenditure and now the Finance Minister has produced another pack of lies to hide the real picture. I want to remind the Finance Minister of Nawaz Sharif's address to the nation on national television before the national budget where he threw up his hands and said that the nation was facing financial bankruptcy and now come again Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is claiming another economic revolution. How many lies are they going to tell?

The trade deficit has risen by 56 percent in 1991-92 over the preceding year to reach 2.32 billion dollars (exports, 6.81 billion dollars and imports 9.14 billion dollars) because exports have risen by only 11 percent where imports have risen by 20 percent, in addition to this remittances have fallen by 350 million dollars presenting a very black future. The 8 billion dollars export target can only be reached by cotton exports which means no added value.

In addition to this outflow of funds on account of divided payments and social interest on deposits has shot up over 120 million dollars on account of interest payable in these foreign deposits.

### **Textiles**

As a result of the crazy export duty imposed on the textile industry which represents 58 percent of our industrial sector is in the worst crisis in its history. In July 1991 export duty of Rs 6 per kg was imposed and then three times restructured to show the complete

confusion prevailing in government policy. There is over 100 million kg of stocks lying with textile mills of a value of Rs 4.5 billion.

On August 15 APTMA [All Pakistan Textile Mills Association] has announced short working causing a fall in production of 14 percent. If this is the state of the main manufacturing sector how can the Finance Minister talk so optimistically of the state of economic, he asked.

### **Investment**

The Finance Minister has claimed an increase in total investment by 17.6 percent. This is another lie as a large portion of this figure consists of capital invested to buy denationalised industry. Since these are already existing units there has been no fresh investment in real terms merely a transfer of money from the public sector to the private sector. The rest is investment in traditional sector of textile and sugar to a favourite of the Sharifs.

The Sharifs have been the biggest of these "investors" taking loans of over Rs 10 billion and giving another Rs 40 billion to IJI politicians.

I challenge the Finance Minister to name one major foreign company other than Daewoo which has invested in bricks and mortar in Pakistan. "With the prevailing political chaos in Pakistan no international investment is coming into Pakistan which is why the investment conference in London in June last failed and the High Commissioner Humayun Khan was sacked," he said.

### **Inflation**

Under the IJI rule Pakistan has seen the worst inflation in its history. In the past 20 months costs of every public utility and service has shot up, air fares, telephones, electricity, gas, water, railway fares, etc., have gone up by as much as 40 percent. He said that atta was Rs 3 per kg and is now Rs 5 per kg, sugar has gone from Rs 10 to Rs 12 per kg and ghee from Rs 18 per kg to Rs 26 per kg and more price rise is expected. Due to currency printing and massive internal borrowing to finance the largest deficit in Pakistan history will be Rs 100 billion and not the Rs 65 billion as claimed by Mr. Aziz. We will see even worse inflation, he said.

### **Financial Scandals**

The Finance Minister has failed to mention the billions of crores of financial bungling and robbery under the IJI government. The biggest financial robbery in the history of Pakistan of the co-op scam amounting to Rs 17 billion has taken place by societies run by IJI politicians and the Choudries of Gujrat and not a single person has been arrested. The financial backbone of Punjab has been broken and no one has been found guilty.

The FEBC's [Foreign Exchange Bearer Certificates] fiasco took place internationally making us an international joke. The Youth Investment Programme has

turned into a joke. The baitul maal is being currently used to finance horse trading and bribing members of the assembly.

#### Government Borrowing

The government internal borrowing has reached the astronomical figure of Rs 8 billion—against Rs 20 billion projected in the revised credit plan. This means more note printing. External debt servicing has reached to Rs 95 billion. Nothing about how this will be serviced has been mentioned by Sartaj Aziz, money received on sale of nationalised industry has been consumed to finance deficits.

The IJI government fiscal irresponsibility and corruption has brought about bankruptcy and still Sartaj Aziz is boasting about the state of the economy, concluded Mr. Salman.

#### Solutions Suggested for Burgeoning National Debt *92AS1416H Karachi DAWN in English 21 Jul 92 p 11*

[Article by Shahid Kardar: "Nature of the Debt Problem"]

[Text] A widely expressed concern these days is the burgeoning debt of the government, both domestic and external, equal to 75 percent of the national income. Unfortunately, however, the quality of the discussion on the nature and the severity of this problem has not been successful in placing it in its proper perspective.

Any businessman or accountant (if not commonsense!) will tell you that there is nothing wrong with borrowings per se. What is important is the use to which these borrowed funds are put. If the funds are utilised for creating assets that will eventually generate returns and the income stream will be adequate for meeting the debt servicing obligations, then the decision to borrow to supplement the available resources required for these investments is a defensible approach. For instance, take the case of development programmes concerning energy and communications. As the government earns a direct return such projects can be financed through borrowings. The cost of loadshedding today is borne not only in terms of inconvenience and production losses but also a slowdown in economic activity in the future.

Furthermore, if the users of these assets include more than one generation, say in the case of a dam or major irrigation project (and the direct beneficiaries cannot be identified readily and specifically), then there is all the more reason that the generations that will benefit from the use of these assets should contribute to their creation.

On grounds of equity and fairness the cost of construction should not be borne only by the present generation. Therefore, if two beneficiary generations are required to contribute the capital costs then borrowing funds for building these assets is an eminently sensible way of

financing the cost of asset creation. The debt servicing charges will be met by the two generations through general taxation.

If we examine the situation in Pakistan in the light of the discussion above we are confronted with the following, rather unsavoury, facts.

In recent years, the government has been borrowing up to Rupees 15 billion in 1991-92, at interest rates ranging from between 13 percent to 15 percent per annum, merely to run the administration machinery for the state. Not only has this money not created any assets, only a nominal amount is set aside to maintain the existing assets in operational condition. For the 1992-93 budget the government is already predicting an additional borrowing of Rupees 5.7 billion for these purposes. The outcome by the end of June 1993 should not be expected to be any different from what has been forecast for the year ending June 30, 1992.

Thus, if the state consumes, on a continuing basis, Rupees 15 billion for keeping itself afloat then a fair proportion of the domestic debt comprises a liability that has been built up because the present beneficiaries of state expenditure are not prepared, for whatever reason, to pay for the costs of the goods and services provided to them by the state. The buck is being passed on to future generations; they are being expected to pay for the profligacy of their elders.

It should be obvious from the above that if a government is unable to even finance its annual consumption expenditure, its entire bill of development oriented expenditures is being met from borrowings.

The problem of development expenditures being financed by borrowings should, at least theoretically, be less serious than that examined above in respect of expenditures of the non-development and recurring variety. Unfortunately, however:

- a. Almost 30 percent, if not more, of this expenditure is siphoned off as bribes and kickbacks and does not get reflected in assets. In other words, a substantial proportion of supposedly investment related expenditures is not backed by assets with income generating potential.
- b. The choice of some investments leaves a lot to be desired. A good recent example for illustrating this point is the Rupees 24 billion Motorway that will link Islamabad with Lahore. Such investments are inherently incapable of generating the returns required for financing the debt servicing (interest and loan repayment) obligations.
- c. Those generating private returns from the direct/indirect use of these assets evade income taxes. Thus the government fails to recover even the debt servicing obligations, let alone ensure full recovery of the capital costs (the capital cost of the assets plus the interest charges of the borrowings made to finance the creation of these assets).

d. Infrastructure-related projects, particularly those relating to education, health, etc., are long gestation in nature and either do not produce direct incomes or the returns that are eventually generated are insufficient to finance the debt servicing costs that typically arise over a period shorter than the period over which the incomes are earned. This mismatch in the revenue and debt servicing expenditure streams can acquire serious proportions if the fiscal picture is basically imbalanced, as is the case in Pakistan.

Some of the activities and investments of the government, particularly education, health, etc., although developmental in nature should preferably be financed by instruments which do not attract interest payments, as there is neither any direct return nor do they yield high returns. Also, because they have to be partly subsidised to make them accessible to the poor there is all the more reason that such expenditures should not be financed by sources which entail debt servicing obligations.

The major future implication of this route is that if the asset-creation role of the government becomes less important, then, with the deceleration in the rate of development of new assets—particularly in view of the high, and growing, rate of corruption and leakages from the funds expended on various projects—the ability of the installed infrastructure and other assets to generate revenues in the future will be seriously impaired. Therefore, the narrowing of the budgetary deficit by cutting expenditure will create a much more serious problem in the future, this time from the revenue side; the asset base will be inadequate for meeting expenditure obligations in the future. The problem will then become more acute and more difficult to resolve, as more and more will have to be extracted to finance the rising expenditure requirements from the insufficient base and depth of infrastructure. However, even in this case some could argue, and legitimately, that there is nothing wrong in borrowing for investments, say higher education, with a high social rate of return. If these borrowings threaten the solvency of government, the problem does not lie in the investments but in the inability of the government to make the beneficiaries, say those trying to become doctors and engineers, pay for the services provided to them by the system of higher education.

In recent years, the government, under pressure to control the budget deficit, has, instead of reforming the tax structure to mobilise additional resources, has preferred the softer option—the lowering of the level of public investment. Development and the creation of new assets that will ultimately generate the revenues (either directly or indirectly) required for financing the debt servicing expenditure, are being sacrificed because the government is unwilling to take the necessary steps required to get all those groups with the capacity to pay to make their contribution to national growth.

There is another dimension of the debt problem. Theoretically, the domestic debt can be repaid by the government by printing money. The social costs of this strategy will, of course, be high, as inflation erodes real incomes (hitting the poor more severely) and induces a large devaluation of the currency. But, at least, the debt can be repaid. This option, however, cannot be exercised in the case of external debt. In this case, the reason for the debt and its growing size are cause for concern. Some of it has been acquired to finance military purchases (although the size of the accumulated military debt is a closely guarded secret) while the composition and quality of investments is poor, grievously undermining the country's capability to repay its debt and make strides towards the objective of self-reliance.

#### Economic Development Seen Key to Reintegrating Mohajirs

92AS1418D Lahore *THE NATION* in English 27 Jul 92 p 8

[Article by Babr Ayaz: "Coping With Mohajir Problems"; italicized words as published]

[Text] "I want to make Karachi, as peaceful as it was 20 years ago." This wish was expressed by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif at the Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Industry reception on last Wednesday.

It was the wish shared by all the Karachiites, including the businessmen he was addressing. But would just the taming of the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) deliver a peaceful city to the Prime Minister and restore the confidence of the investors who have moved their future up north?

Unfortunately, the answer to this question is in the negative and the business here knows it well. The MQM all mature people know may have been a product of General Zia ul Haq's military government it has the grass-roots support of the *mohajirs* not for the heck of it but because the issues raised by it were close to the hearts of the people they were addressed to.

If both the agreements of the MQM with the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] are analysed, it is clear that they raised specific issues related to the *mohajirs* living in the urban centres, particularly Karachi and Hyderabad. These issues revolved around government jobs, admissions in universities and professional colleges and public utilities like transport, etc.

Besides the first clause of its agreement with the IJI in which the MQM demanded representation in the Federal government, all others were concerning the local problems of the *mohajirs* living in Karachi and Hyderabad. These clauses were regarding following problems:

- Transfer and posting to and from Sindh;
- Solution of Karachi problems;

- Census, which again was an attempt to get bigger share in the jobs;
- Employment in Federal and provincial governments;
- Quota system, which is also related to employment and admissions in colleges;
- Allocation of development funds for Karachi;
- Transport problems of Karachi.

Even small issues like traffic congestion on roads and inavailability of parking space, construction of ring-road and fly overs in Karachi, mass transit system, fleet of buses for Karachi, postal rates to India, arms licences, etc., were included in this agreement.

Now if the government can solve all these problems at the same pace as it is carrying out a clean up operation in the urban areas, it can cut into the support of the MQM.

Experience has shown that most of the ethnic movements have flourished cashing in on the employment issue and sharing of economic resources. *Mohajir* no doubt have a bigger share in the government and public sector institutions than their proportion in the population of Pakistan, but nowhere an unemployed person sits back and accepts that the people from his community have more than their fair share. His mind is fogged by the personal need.

The same is the case with admissions in the universities and professional colleges. The MQM hard core support comes from these young unemployed and those 20,000 students who don't get admissions in the colleges every year.

The present government policy that economic growth in the private sector alone would take care of such problems is not going to help in the urban areas of Sindh. On the contrary, the petty bourgeois reaction of the MQM has scared the private sector from this province further aggravating hardships of the people. Investment in Sindh started declining correspondingly with the rise of the MQM. An analysis of the number of companies listed at the stock exchange in the last two years show that not even half of the new manufacturing companies were based in Sindh. Only financial companies like *modarabas* and leasing companies were Karachi based. But financial sector does not create enough employment for the low income groups.

Even the flow of loans from the development finance institutions tell the same story. For instance, sanctions from the NDFC [National Development Finance Corporation] show a constant declining trend in investment in Sindh in the last few years compared to the pre-MQM period.

In these circumstances, it would not be realistic to believe that the private sector activity and half-hearted development of civic amenities in Karachi would divert the people of this city from the MQM. Its main support comes from the lower middle classes who are not impressed by liberal moral issues like use of power to assert itself. All over the world the parties with strong

lower middle class basis have rallied people to snatch their rights ruthlessly and have adopted fascist means to suppress dissent. The MQM is no exception.

Now if the government can make inroads in these *mohajir* classes of Karachi and Hyderabad it would be able to get Karachi its lost peace. It is not a tall order as the MQM demands are basically that of municipal level. However, it was a folly of the IJI and the PPP to ignore the solution of the metropolitan problems but give importance to the leadership question at the national level.

#### **Creation of New Jobs Seen Lagging Far Behind**

92AS14204 Lahore THE NATION in English 23 Jul 92  
p 11

[Article by Ikram Sehgal: "Economic Letter: Jobs and the Nation"]

[Text] Two mighty superpowers confronted each other in a four decades old cold war till a scant year or so ago with enough bang in their arsenals to blow the world up many hundreds of times over. Though the former Soviet Union's weaponry is still intact for the most part in 12 or so different hands, the only effective Head Honcho left is the United States. As the clear winner of the cold war, George Bush would be expected to be riding high in the esteem of his own electorate. In addition to the demise of the Soviet Union, President Bush had orchestrated the world campaign, barely a year or so ago, to oust Iraq from Kuwait. His spectacular successes in foreign policy initiatives have been dwarfed by the spectre of continuing recession, jobs are more important to the U.S. public than the fate of Gorbachev, Yeltsin or Saddam Husayn. The same factor of economics that was primarily responsible for consigning the Soviet Union to oblivion is now threatening to erode his candidacy for a Second Term. If the populace seems unduly ungrateful, it only seems to confirm man's overriding and pragmatic concern for one's own self-interest.

The best indicators for economic performance in the modern world are unemployment figures, car sales and housing starts. Higher unemployment figures point to a troubled economy as does lower figures for car sales and housing starts. In Pakistan the method of arriving at statistics is hardly an exact science, therefore one relies more on the perception of greater unemployment rather than verifiable facts. No one takes into account, for example, the number of women working in the fields. Though car sales and housing starts are an indicator of sorts, because of the parallel black economy they are hardly trustworthy. With the on-going recession stifling the most advanced of economies, at the tail-end Pakistan is bound to feel the effects in the reducing quantum of exports to the developed economies, thus enlarging the trade deficit and commensurately the national indebtedness. The slowdown of manufacturing translates into lesser availability of jobs.

Having a low level of literacy, the aspiration level of the Third Worlders is much lower than the threshold of their counterparts in the affluent world. There is a difference also between their relative perception to life and world events as best highlighted by their differing priorities. Whereas the average American gives a greater weightage to his quality of life than to military parity with the Soviet Union, the average Pakistani, despite dangling on the fine line between poverty and privation, may want his economic survival assured but would not accept an Indian nuclear hegemony. To quote late Z.A. Bhutto, "will (rather) eat grass." [sentence as published] As the poverty level has risen, economic survival has become increasingly important, overshadowing other material (and emotional) issues.

With a population growth in excess of 2.5 percent, Pakistan must create in excess of one million jobs each year just to stay up to par with the present average quality of life. Unfortunately, our job creation performance is far removed from this reality and as the years roll by our exodus to the Middle East has been reversed and our unemployment figures are rising steadily, an intelligent guess being almost one million a year. This rising graph creates a whole new set of social problems, as the frustration spills over into the streets, a Catch-22 cycle of law and order problems that feed on each other is the end result. The bad security environment causes investment to remain shy.

The greatest priority for any government is to protect the citizens against external aggression and internal disorder. While our strong and well-motivated Armed Forces are a bulwark against adventure by our enemies from within and without, regular law enforcement agencies (LEAs) are finding it increasingly convenient in abdicating their traditional role to the Armed Forces. The corruption and inefficiency of the badly compromised police services has increased the workload on the Defence Services. Trying to bail out the LEAs by coming in Aid to Civil Power is not a conducive exercise to be engaged in very frequently as it detracts from the principal role of the Defence Services. A corrective action cannot become an institutionalised set-piece reaction to events. In the longer term, the prime responsibility for enforcing the law of the land must remain with the civil law enforcement agencies and those who cannot do their jobs have no business being on the public payroll. It is up to the political government to ensure that the economic situation is not allowed to deteriorate, the crime graph rising commensurately. To forestall crime and civil disorder, it is again necessary to create jobs.

The greater task before any political government is to create a conducive environment for foreign and domestic investment in industry and services. The Nawaz Sharif Government has taken far-reaching economic steps to liberalise the economy in order to accelerate development. There is hope in the distant future that these reforms will usher in increased job opportunities, given the ability of the politicos to cajole/coerce a

reluctant bureaucracy into line so that potential investors do not find impediments in the flow of investments into the country. However, it is about the present and the near future that we are immediately concerned.

A regular job creates an economic cycle for the whole family, that in turn contributes to the national economy. Instead of a lump sum grant of Rs[rupees]50,000 as charity, it is far better to give the person a regular job at Rs 2,000 per month, thus creating a permanent economic cycle. While we have to traditionally look to industry for more jobs, we must also give encouragement to the services sector. To start the process soon we can immediately (1) launch major public sector construction projects and (2) give greater emphasis on institutionalising the concept of the services sector. God knows we have need to improve the socio-economic infrastructure of our country, thereby public investment in this process would be more than welcome.

In contrast to the modern economics of the world we do not give much importance to an organised Services sector whereas in a country like ours, it is only by institutionalising the Services sector, giving commensurate material and moral incentives as given to industry, that we shall be able to break through the job logjam. Slowly but surely, we are seeing a gradual improvement in this respect as requirements like security, cleaning, transportation, etc., are becoming a part and parcel of commerce in contrast to the individual hiring of persons who tend to become deadweight overheads over the years. The wrong trend was first set by PIA [Pakistan International Airlines] but for the right reasons. As a Services sector did not exist in Pakistan when PIA was on his modernising campaign to compete with world airlines, the management resorted to hiring of individuals and created commensurate departments within PIA. While in the beginning PIA got away by having a security services department, transport department, etc., over the years, these eventually became fiefdoms of inefficiency and corruption, these white elephants have now become unbearable overheads because with retirements, etc., a recurring burden has come in PIA that will gradually keep multiplying to PIA's detriment. At the same time efficiency and cost-effectiveness is much less than if the Services had been contracted out. If such services had been found below par or substandard, the option exists to choose other companies which are available and can always be hired as replacement. On the other hand, there is almost no recourse against the inefficient and corrupt individuals who are now permanent PIA employees; the departmental process can hardly act against individuals because of either their influential support or the powerful trade unions. So we now have a situation where a particular job may not get done but the incumbent keeps holding down a lucrative position in PIA.

The present rules of the State Bank of Pakistan (SBP) gives only lip-service attention for extending credit to the Services sector, naturally this hampers steady growth as entrepreneurs turn to more expensive non-bank sources.

If they are given similar facilities as are given to exporters/importers and the industrial sector, the result will be the creation of many hundreds of thousands of extra jobs in many different fields.

Whether in the industrial or the Services sector, the economic emancipation that this nation is aspiring for can only be achieved by creating many hundreds of thousands of jobs every year. Jobs is the ultimate economic salvation of the nation. For the time being we may well have to embark on a series of public sector projects to force-feed employment opportunities into the economy. The government has made an innovative start by having BOO [expansion not given] and BOT [balance of trade] schemes for highways and bridges, thus involving the private and expatriate entrepreneurs, why not public sector buildings, medical care, etc., based on the same concept.

To us as human beings, there should be no higher priority than to create jobs—and more jobs—to overcome the horrendous poverty around us. A country free of mass frustration is only possible if the citizens of this country are gainfully employed and it behooves each of us to search deep inside ourselves as to what little we may have done for our brethren.

#### New Trade Policy Seen Step in Right Direction

92AS1317F Lahore THE NATION in English 16 Jul 92 p 6

[Article by Ikram Sehgal: "The Trade Policy"]

[Text] In his speech unveiling the new Trade Policy 1992-93, the Federal Commerce Minister made one telling point, in the late 60s Pakistan's manufactured exports exceeded the combined exports of Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippine, Thailand and Turkey. Today, each of these countries is far ahead of Pakistan.

The reasons for this stunted performance is rooted in the myopic centralised policies of successive governments from the 70s till the late 80s which envisaged absolute State control in almost every walk of commerce and industry. With centralised monitoring and over-regulation, Pakistan's economy floundered. While we blame Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for nationalisation, we tend to forget that it was in the decade of the super-bureaucrat Ghulam Ishaq Khan, now President of Pakistan by the will of God and the miscalculation of PPP [Pakistan People's Party], that being subjected mercilessly to the excesses of bureaucracy 1977-1985 inasfar as rampant corruption, inefficiency, and indolence, the economy was almost destroyed. With the initiation of a form of democracy in 1985 (and accountability thereof), the slide was halted. Ms. Benazir's PPP further consolidated on the upward swing by eschewing the policies of her late father but it was the present Nawaz Sharif regime that has actually laid the base for dynamic expansion by a revolutionary liberalising of the economy. One of the prime consideration of a trade policy must be to cut down the deficit gap between imports and exports by

curtailing import and expanding exports. However this is not easily done as expansion of exports is partially dependent upon a rise in imports of raw materials and capital machinery, it is more necessary to keep the ratio of comparative increases in a positive balance.

The major problem facing Malik Naeem Khan in the consideration of a Trade Policy was that there exists a continuing recession in U.S.A. and a slowdown of growth in Eastern Europe, this has commensurately slowed down Pakistan's growth rate while the lower prices of commodities have resulted in lower earnings. While going along with the basic principles of liberalisation, deregulation and denationalisation, the Commerce Ministry has to keep in mind also that the trend of liberalisation of imports must continue while giving protection to the indigenous industry through tariffs. The present situation is that import bill in the first 11 months of the year was U.S.\$8395 million or an increase of 20 per cent over the previous year, this is expected to go up 15 per cent to U.S.\$9200 in the succeeding year. But it must be noted that the major increase in import bill has been due to the 59 per cent increase in capital machinery over the corresponding period of the previous year. The declining trends of exports were noted in cotton yarn and the exports of tents and canvas, tanned leather, fruits and vegetables. Unit price of raw cotton and rice fell though in volume there were increases of 51 per cent and 25 per cent respectively. Exports registered a growth rate of 14 per cent to U.S.\$6140 million in the first 11 months of the year, an overall deficit of U.S.\$2255 million. The major areas of exports growth of 18 per cent were in textile products like cotton cloth, hosiery, ready-made garments, bedwear and towels. Leather products, synthetic textiles, sports goods and surgical instruments also showed positive growth.

Keeping the previous performance in view, the Commerce Ministry has opted for enacting pragmatic reforms to maintain the process of export increases. These include (1) the setting up of Special Industrial Zones for export-oriented industries. These Zones will be given basic facilities of water, gas, electricity and telecommunication besides concessions like exemption of customs duty and surcharge while reduced import licence fee on machinery will be available provided 60 per cent of production is exported and 40 per cent foreign investment is made, (2) the maximum tariff rate for promotion of exports has been reduced from 90 per cent to 80 per cent, (3) raw materials for processing from outside the Bond have been permitted on the basis of existing controls used for export and Bond period has been extended from one to ten years, (4) the zero-rate import policy for machinery spares and accessories for value-added textile industries has now been extended to sports, cutlery and surgical equipment industries. In addition imports of machinery, spares and accessories for cutlery industry has been allowed free of customs duty, Iqra surcharge and import licence fee, (5) import of combining machines has been allowed at zero customs duty, 5 per cent Iqra surcharge and 6 per cent import

licence fee, (6) duty on export of cotton yarn above 40 counts has been reduced by 50 per cent and on 60 counts from 50 per cent to 16 per cent, (7) to boost export of farm products, duty drawback has been given on packing material for live plants, seeds of vegetables, fruits, flower, these are allowed free of duty, surcharge, sales tax and import licence fee. Freight subsidy up to 25 per cent of the actual freight has been given provided these are sent by PIA [Pakistan International Airlines] or PNSC [Pakistan National Shipping Corporation]. Priority is being given to increase in non-traditional exports, at present 70 per cent of foreign exchange earnings is from the traditional exports of cotton and rice. An innovative scheme has been resorted to regarding three-way trade through back to back LCs [Letter of Credit] for crude oil, wheat, rubber, cotton, tea, sugar and fertiliser for re-export. Labour laws which are applicable to all export-processing zones are also being made applicable to export-oriented units. Another pragmatic idea has been to enhance the base capital of Export Credit Guarantee Scheme from Rupees 30 million to Rupees 500 million over a period of 5 years while imports on consignment basis has been allowed to take advantage on deferred payment arrangements.

Over the years, the successive governments have taken cognisance of existing realities and brought in like-minded policies towards gradual liberalisation despite deep ideological differences. Much has however been lost in the implementation thereof because of bureaucratic foot-dragging despite the recognition by the Commerce Ministry that the commercial and industrial world has changed because of de-regulation and denationalisation. As such controls do exist but the overburdening monitoring that was suffocating industrial and commerce has been gradually reduced. We still have a far way to go.

One congratulates the Federal Commerce Minister for having rid the economy of Pakistan from the Barter parasites. Because of the hold that the Barter countries have previously had over the Commerce and Finance Ministries, genuine Countertrades (CTs) and Special Trading Agreements (STAs) never could see the light of day in Pakistan. Seeing that over 100 countries of the world are severely indebted, CTs and STAs, bi-lateral and multi-lateral, are the only way to overcome the liquidity problems acting as an obstacle to purchases. Scrapping the Barter trade (or SCAM) with the former CEMA countries, Sweden and Finland is not enough, CTs and STAs with genuine parties such as with Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, etc., on the pattern of the old TCP-TCB [Trading Corporation of Pakistan-Trading Corporation of Bangladesh] STA must be instituted. The only way to invigorate trade is to make more opportunities available to our entrepreneurs.

As the Federal Commerce Minister has stated, the fact remains that rice and cotton are our main foreign exchange earners, therefore both RECP [Rice Export Corporation of Pakistan] and CECP [Cotton Export Corporation of Pakistan] must be re-vitalised instead of

being eliminated. In third world countries certain areas must remain under the public sector to maintain State monopolies in the larger interest of the nation. At the same time TCP as Pakistan's prime trading arms, has to be re-organised and essential personnel brought in a merger with EPB [Export Promotion Bureau] should also be arranged. These Corporations are ridden with corruption and are dependent for their senior executives from the civil service for the most part. This is not really required in the face of competent commercial professionals. Unless drastic manpower and organisational reform are carried out, Pakistan's trade will continue to remain in the doldrums. However one must recognise that the present Trade Policy continues a process of reform that will eventually lead to the emancipation of our economy.

#### **Privatisation Said To Cause Spiraling Bribery, Corruption**

*92AS1420H Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English  
1 Aug 92 p 4*

[Editorial: "They Do Not Know What the People's Problems Are"]

[Text] Prime Minister [PM] Nawaz Sharif has appointed high level committees to inquire what the people's problems are, and how these are to be addressed and solved by his government. Of course, better late than never. But one can hardly help raising some pertinent points in this context. Why does one enter politics? To solve the problems plaguing the society. And in order to be able to do so, the politician identifies the problems, works out solutions and presents them to the people for their endorsement. If endorsement is obtained, people get into government and set about the task. Our present Prime Minister has been in office about two years. He is still unsure about what the problems of the people really are. So some of the senior colleagues are now going to see what the problems really are. They will then think of solutions and devise strategies. The implementation of remedial measures will begin to be instituted after this process. If the government has taken two years to start thinking of identifying the problems, the rest of the process of solving them would take another two years before solutions begin to be put into effect. In plain words, what the PM has started seriously thinking about is a process he should have completed before he started scaling the peaks of power. Now that he is at the apex of the pyramid, it is very difficult really to get a clear and precise idea of what the wretched multitude down at the base are feeling like.

The basic problem—mother of all problems—one way or another is the putrid state of the police force right across the country. The country has reached a point where the man in the uniform and the dacoit, kidnapper, rapist, thief, blackmailer are almost completely indistinguishable. Who has brought the police force to this condition? The only honest answer to this question of all questions is: the politicians, such as we have. Mr. Nawaz Sharif

would recall how many hundreds of men of doubtful credentials have been inducted into the police forces of all provinces. As the proverb goes, one dead fish spoils the pond. The tragedy of the police forces all over the country is that they are now bristling with thoroughly bad characters. What is the quality of a police force going to be when an officer prises in being seen as a "tiger" and feared as such? These characters were inducted precisely because they were expected to do the dirty jobs for the politicians-to-be. Mr. Nawaz Sharif is no stranger to this phenomenon. Nor is he entirely innocent in this regard. This kind of back-door recruitment to the police force of his province was going on while he headed the provincial administration. Now that the army is in action in Sindh, one of the major impediments in its way is this problem.

Along with the deliberate introduction of the bad element in the police forces, the unscrupulous politicians (who cannot survive without a corrupt police force and plain power magistracy) injected the same virus in the lower rungs of civil administration. The result is that the citizen is sick and tired of the government apparatus at lower and middle levels of administration. And these are the levels where the average citizen comes into contact with what goes in our country for "government." The citizen fears the police more than the thief, dacoit or kidnapper. People have stopped reporting crime to the police for fear of being treated as criminal and subjected to all manner of blackmail not excluding physical and mental torture—even death! The mistrust of the officers of law and order has reached the ultimate. Today's police and lower magistracy are now instruments of the mischief the people feel safer and securer without.

Now, a word about the higher rungs of government machinery. Here, too, it is the same story. If at lower levels the bribery rate is in thousands, at higher levels it is befittingly in millions, tens of millions. The haphazard manner in which the government has been going about selling public property and assets has sent the bribe rate to dizzy heights. Quite naturally, too. If the stakes are in billions, a few millions to grease the palms of those with the power of final decision is by no means a bad bargain. It's just what free enterprise is all about. The privatisation has set in motion a process of sheer corruption which boggles the minds of ordinary citizens. And it is only the beginning. As we go along this deliberately uncharted path, it is hard to say where we end up. One thing is quite clear, however. If the beginning is so scary, ending cannot be blissful.

#### **Government Asked To Increase Currency Reserves**

92AS1420C Lahore *THE NATION* in English 29 Jul 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Currency Reserves"]

[Text] Pakistan has one of the lowest per capita foreign exchange reserves in the world. This startling fact was revealed in ASIAWEEK drawing from figures compiled by the International Monetary Fund. Even Bhutan and

Sri Lanka are shown as having higher per capita foreign currency reserves than Pakistan. Such a revelation reflects to disturbing features. [sentence as published] First, of course, it throws cold water on the periodic claims of the highest executives in Pakistan that our foreign exchange reserves are satisfactory. As early as a week ago, the Prime Minister himself expressed satisfaction over the country's foreign exchange reserves. No doubt the reason for the decline in our reserves is due to the policy of encouraging machinery imports by the present government, a policy that has played havoc with unemployment levels in the industrial sector and substantially raised the inflationary pressures on products emanating from the manufacturing sector. And, secondly, our low currency reserves account for the steady decline in the value of the Pakistan rupee which is backed by the foreign exchange reserves at its command. Hence it is no wonder that the Pak rupee is fast losing its value both domestically and internationally.

Part of the problem, as mentioned above, is due to the higher machinery imports. But when there is talk of per capita foreign exchange reserves then another problem manifests itself: that of high population growth rate. Our present government, like its predecessors, has ignored the crucial importance of effecting population control policies. Unchecked high population growth not only negatively affects the country's ability to finance a greater percentage of the people benefiting from its social services but also lowers a country's ability to be able to back its currency with sufficient foreign exchange. The upshot of the disturbing per capita foreign exchange reserves must be to force the government to take remedial measures which require a dramatic shift in its expenditure priorities.

#### **Population Explosion Said Thwarting Economic Development**

92AS1420I Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English  
31 Jul 92 p 4

[Editorial: "Control the Population—or Else"; italicized words as published]

[Text] Speakers at the National Population Conference to observe the World Population Day Saturday agreed that social and economic progress was not possible without controlling population growth in the country. They said whatever progress was made in the economic and social fields was offset by population growth. In his inaugural address, the Federal Minister for Planning and Development said population growth, social and economic progress were interrelated. Population growth, social progress, natural resources and environment contributed in building a balanced atmosphere, he said. The minister then disclosed that if the present rate of growth continued the population of Pakistan would double from 119 million to 238 million in 23 years. This information should be a cause for immense worry to all sane minded people. To add to this, the minister said 70 percent of the population was illiterate, 68 percent did not have access

to potable drinking water, 55 percent did not have health cover and 32 percent lived under the poverty line. These are alarming figures, to say the least.

The population bomb, as it is now commonly referred to, is a worldwide problem but basically, every country will have to adopt measures to control the population within its own borders. As the population of the earth grows by leaps and bounds, it is becoming increasingly difficult for our planet to meet the requirements of its populace. The need for preventing the population bomb from exploding is, therefore, all the more imperative. This is only possible through a population planning programme pragmatically formulated and strictly implemented. Regrettably, though, despite the earnest endeavours of the government in this behalf, the population planning programme as it exists today has not met with even a modicum of success. For instance, the amount allocated by the government under this head for the 8th five-year plan is three times greater than the amount for the preceding one. It now stands at Rs[rupees]9.1 billion. Furthermore, the government has constituted a committee at the federal level with similar committees to be set up at the provincial levels. Staff of other government agencies, autonomous and semi-autonomous bodies will also be utilised for motivating people to go in for family planning.

This is all to be attributed to sincere intention on the part of the government but all of it could also go down the drain if something is not done to prevent the *mullah* from preaching the "inequity" of family planning. With official statistics showing the level of illiteracy at 70 percent (unofficially it is much higher), and the only medium of instruction for this section of the populace being the village demagogue it can justifiably be feared that all the good work being done by people who are genuinely apprehensive of the population explosion getting out of hand, will be undone. The preacher who beguiles the unwary into the scare that family planning is a sin poses a serious threat to common sense and reason about family planning. This danger is far more lethal than the man who holds a gun in his hand and the government should have no illusions about it.

#### **Threat to Economic Reforms Seen in Parliament**

92AS1420B Lahore *THE NATION* in English 29 Jul 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Protection to Reforms"]

[Text] The statement of the Federal Finance Minister, Sartaj Aziz, that constitutional protection to the economic reforms of the government is not possible now because the government no longer has a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly, will cause little surprise. The government has steadily been losing support in the House firstly, because of the split in the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad]—with both the Jama'at and the NPP [National People's Party] withdrawing their support—and secondly, because of the Sindh operation

which resulted in the loss of its major ally, the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement]. It would be difficult to fault the government for this erosion in its strength, because the choice before the Prime Minister was either to buckle under the pressure of his allies and retreat from important policy decisions that had already been made in the national interest or to forge ahead with politics that he deemed necessary for the political and economic survival of the country. But the IJI can certainly be faulted for having cobbled together an alliance, which had little commonality of outlook. It was inherently a platform of expediency and was bound to disintegrate as hard-nosed decisions were made on major legislative and executive issues. It may be argued though against this that had this platform of incompatibles not been devised the IJI would not have come into power. There was thus a political justification for it. Yet even when the primacy of the political compulsions under which all this was done, is conceded, there is little logic in the Prime Minister shutting all doors to a working relationship with the Opposition. Because had he not allowed himself to become a party to the political vendetta against the Opposition, he could still have won PDA [Pakistan Democratic Party] support for his more enlightened economic reforms and thus would have been able to, despite defections from his party, garner a two-thirds majority in the House.

Not that many of his reforms, particularly those in opening up of the economy and attraction of foreign exchange, etc., are in any real danger of reversal at the hands of a subsequent government. But without constitutional protection these would be seen as vulnerable to winds of political change. The process of privatisation, for example, though basically sound in concept, has tended to become controversial because of charges, right or wrong, of cronyism. In theory, therefore, any subsequent government could, by an act of the Parliament, which requires only a simple majority, undo some of the things done by this government. And this thought is not likely to breed much confidence in the minds of either the business community or the future investors of capital in Pakistan. In the event of that happening not only will the achievements of the present government be in jeopardy but also a golden opportunity of giving the country a sound economic base, would have been lost—not because of bad planning but because of the government's own short-sightedness and mindless political prejudices.

#### **Agricultural Production Levels Said Decreasing**

92AS1420K Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* (Supplement) in English 31 Jul 92 p 7

[Article by Muhammad Rafiq Khan, vice-chancellor, University of Agriculture, Faisalabad: "Dynamic Agricultural Policy Needed"]

[Text] The agriculture sector is the mainstay of Pakistan's economy accounting for about 25 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). It employs over 50 percent of the labour force and earns 70 percent of the

country's foreign exchange. It supports over 70 percent of the population, which resides in rural areas. Relative share of agriculture in the GDP has declined from 27.2 percent in 1980-81 to 25.63 percent in 1990-91.

The most important factor that will influence future demand for food and other agricultural products by the beginning of the 21st century is the explosive rate of population growth of over 3 percent per annum. Such a rate of population growth has serious implications for the future requirement of food supplies.

It has been estimated that by the beginning of the 21st century, the population of the country would exceed 144 million. Under this pressure, demand for primary products would increase by a sizeable margin, some idea of which can be had from the projected requirements of wheat of over 18.0 million tons by the beginning of the 21st century.

To meet this demand, wheat production should essentially increase by 24 percent over the level of 14.5 million tons in 1990-91. Similarly, the gap between requirement and production of currently deficient products like edible oils, milk, and sugar would increase at an alarming rate. Sizeable deficits will also appear in meat and pulses. These projected deficits would have serious implications for the food security system, besides being a heavy burden on the country's foreign exchange resources.

Over time, the performance of various crops in terms of output has been quite satisfactory. For example, during the period 1980-81 to 1990-91, production of cotton increased by 128.75 percent; wheat 26.93 percent; rice 4.54 percent; and sugarcane 11.22 percent. Major increase in the production of all the commodities resulted mainly from expansion in acreage.

But the available indicators now suggest that the scope of additional production through acreage expansion has been exhausted to a great extent. Thus, the only alternative to increase production of various crops will be through the improvement of crop yields.

However, with the exception of cotton crop, all the major crops are now showing stagnating productivity levels. For example, over the previous decade, wheat productivity improved at the rate of 1.8 percent, sugarcane 1.0 percent and cotton 7.7 percent per annum. The rice crop, on the other hand, experienced a declining productivity of 1.0 percent per year. The situation is very serious as the present rate of population growth of 3.1 percent is conspicuously higher than the rate of growth of crop productivities.

Pakistan's agricultural production is severely retarded by water logging and salinity. At present about 17 percent of the culturable command area has a water table within 150 cm (about 5 feet) of the soil surface. Even fresh water can retard crop growth at this level. Another 32 percent has water table within 300 cm (about 10 feet) of the

surface. This level too can harm deep-rooted crops and as such constitutes a danger zone for possible future increases in the water level.

The problems of salinity will become more serious by the turn of the century due to excessive use of brackish tubewell water. At present, about one-third of the total farm gate water availability is coming from tubewells. About 80 percent of the tubewells are pumping water which is not suitable for irrigation. Thus in future, the agriculture sector is likely to face a serious threat from salinity. For the reclamation and development of salt affected areas, gypsum should be made available at subsidized rates to the farmers. This must also be accompanied by surface/ground water development as much water is needed for leaching of salts.

Imbalanced use of plant nutrients has also been one of the major causes of low productivity of most of the crops. The ratio of nitrogenous fertilizers to phosphatic fertilizers has improved from 10:1 to 3.4:1 over the period 1970-89. This ratio needs to be further narrowed down to 1:1 in order to obtain higher yields. Micronutrient deficiencies/requirements have been also identified for some crops in specific zones.

Recent research has indicated that the majority of soil series existing in the rice tract of the Punjab Province are highly deficient in available zinc both for rice and wheat crops. It is estimated that most of our soils will become still more deficient in major, minor as well as in trace elements as we enter the 21st century. Moreover, higher doses of fertilizers will be needed to sustain the same yield levels in the future.

About one-fifth of the area under wheat in Pakistan is rain-fed. The yield of wheat in these areas is very low and erratic because of the unpredictable precipitation. The pace of varietal development suited for rain-fed conditions has been rather slow as compared to evolution of high potential varieties for irrigated areas. Increased productivity in these areas will have a very significant impact on wheat production in the country in the coming years.

Existing varieties of various crops are said to be highly sensitive to heat/drought stress. This requires that researchers place increased emphasis on research in general and to the problem areas in particular in order to be able to effect sustained increase in agriculture production by the turn of the century.

Total water availability per cropped acre in Pakistan is two acre feet which is about one-third as compared to many other countries. This low availability of water is partly attributed to heavy conveyance losses which are estimated to be about 25 percent. The losses from the outlet to the field have been found to be about 22 percent. Of the water received at the farm gate, 41 percent is lost in the fields. In addition, water is generally not available at the critical stages of growth of crops.

Recharge of water from various sources has been inadequate to replenish the underground water being exploited.

Consequently, the water table is falling and is expected to decrease further at a higher rate as we approach the 21st century. Thus added emphasis will need to be placed on the full use of surface water resources. This would involve heavy construction of dams and reservoirs by the public sector. Further water lost during the transit and at the farm level need to be saved through lining of canals, water channels and through precision land leveling.

Productivity of different crops, among other factors, is severely influenced by economic forces, i.e., the cost and returns associated with each crop. There is sufficient empirical evidence to prove that the index of net area cash income obtained per acre from different crops has deteriorated over time. Terms of trade have been going against agriculture. The real cost of purchased inputs in terms of commodities has increased over time, thereby reducing the profitability of agriculture. As a result, there is a continuous flight of capital, labour, and talent from agriculture to the other sectors of the economy. This points to a strong need for favourable agricultural policies in order to make agriculture a profitable business and to attract capital to this sector.

Similarly per acre yield of agricultural crops is also greatly influenced by insect-pests infestation, diseases and weeds. It is estimated that in 1984, Pakistan lost around Rs[rupees]2-4 billion in cotton crop failure owing mainly to insect and pest attacks resulting from unfavourable weather conditions. Loss of potential yield due to insects and pests alone has been estimated around 30 to 65 percent for different crops.

Like the insect-pest attack, weed infestation also greatly reduces the yield of various crops. It has been estimated that weed infestation reduces the output from 10 to 40 percent.

Diseases also adversely influence the productivity of various crops. New varieties of wheat are more susceptible to smut and rust. It is feared that by the end of the 20th century, the intensity of crop diseases, weeds and pests, will become still more complex and demanding due to higher cropping intensities. This will essentially require farmers to spend substantial amounts on the expanded use of chemicals to protect their crops and to realise higher yields.

Moreover, our productive agricultural lands are going out of cultivation due to other uses like housing, industries, roads, etc. Use of such lands for nonagricultural purposes is expected to continue in the future and consequently this will have an adverse effect on agricultural production.

Seventy-four percent of our farming community consists of small farmers owning less than 12.5 acres. Their financial position, being grossly inadequate, limits their access to and use of modern production inputs. Their number is expected to increase further in the coming years due to the operation of the law of inheritance.

Special government support will be required to enable these farms to make substantial contribution toward agricultural production in the future.

Besides the above constraints, fragmented and scattered nature of holdings, defective marketing system, soil erosion, adulteration of agricultural inputs (particularly fertilizer and pesticides), nonavailability of grossly inadequate provision of agricultural credit, poor financial position of the farmers, heavy burden of indirect taxes, etc., have been adversely affecting agricultural production. These factors are likely to hinder further agricultural production as we approach the 21st century.

Thus it seems that the growth of the agriculture sector in future will remain at a relatively low rate. There is sufficient empirical evidence to believe that progressive farmers in Pakistan have made reasonably better performance than the average farmers in the country. The precedent set by the progressive farmers in the adoption of new farm technologies, if emulated in true spirit by the common farmers in future years, we will definitely enter into the 21st century with no deficits in major agricultural commodities.

However, during these years we will all need to put in extra effort to ensure that development in the agriculture sector becomes compatible with the new challenges. For this purpose, the public as well as the private sector will have to come up with some major policy packages for boosting agricultural production.

The second major problem, a universal problem, in the 21st century, is environmental insecurity. There is no military solution to environmental insecurity. Government and international agencies should assess the cost effectiveness in terms of achieving security, of money spent on armaments compared with money spent on reducing poverty or restoring a savaged environment. The need is to achieve improved relations among those major powers capable of developing weapons of mass destruction. In fact bread and not bombs is the need of the 21st century.

Developing countries face the obvious life-threatening challenges of desertification, deforestation and pollution and endure most of the poverty associated with environmental degradation. The entire human family of nations would suffer from disappearance of rain-forests in the tropics, the loss of plant and animal species and the change in rainfall patterns.

The next few decades are crucial. The time has come to break out of past patterns. Attempts to maintain social and sociological stability through old approaches to development and environmental protection will increase instability. Security must be thought through change.

The changes in human attitude depend on a widespread campaign through education, debate, and public participation. This campaign must start now if sustainable human progress is to be achieved. Let us enter with this mission to the 21st century.

**Sindhi, Balochi Quotas in Army Increased**  
*92AS1263G Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English*  
*10 Jul 92 p 2*

[Excerpt] Islamabad, July 9—Senate was informed Thursday that several steps had been taken to enhance the representation of Balochistan and Sindh in the Pakistan Army including increase in class composition quota from five percent to 15 percent.

Responding to a question by Senator Syed Faseih Iqbal during Question Hour, Chaudhry Amir Hussain, Federal Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, on behalf of the Federal Defence Minister, told the House that the increase in class composition quota of Sindhis and Balochs would be achieved progressively by the year 2000. Such an increase, he said, would reduce the quota of Punjabi Muslims. [passage omitted]

**Sharif Authority Over Army Seen in Doubt**  
*92AS1365D Karachi JASARAT in Urdu* 18 Jul 92 p 16

[Article by Mukhtar Hasan: "Army Leaders, From Corps Commander's Meeting to American Ambassador's Party"]

[Text] The country's political leadership is facing a serious test. No one would have imagined 20 months ago that a government elected into office with a large public mandate and enjoying, with its allied parties, a three-quarters majority, would prove so weak. This weakness of the Nawaz Sharif government, however, is not a sudden phenomenon. After coming to office, the prime minister was not able to adopt a system for decision-making and administration. Decisions were taken but without any political or scientific basis. The four members of the alliance were not consulted; the decisions were not the result of any serious thinking nor an attempt to carry out the mandate, which was to act on the constitution. Important decisions were made based on mere emotion or friendly gossip in the kitchen cabinet. Such decisions were easy but this was mere self-deception. The foundations of the government were gradually being eroded and weakened.

A leadership enjoying such a large mandate should have made courageous political decisions but instead, easy and self-indulgent ways were sought. MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] was a member of the coalition and it played both political and terrorist roles. No attempt was made to hold frank discussions with it; as a result, 1991 municipal elections could not be held in Sindh. When conditions became critical in Sindh and law and order in both rural and urban areas deteriorated to the point that the danger of enemy intervention arose, the army had to be called in. Under Article 147 of the constitution, the army came to help but it refused to act aimlessly and leave matters half settled. The result is obvious; the

government is worried and desperately seeking remedies; sometimes it is proposed that the scattered alliance of four should be reassembled; sometimes they go crying to the president.

The resignations of 11 out of 14 MQM members of the national assembly sent by the speaker to the election commission gives Nawaz Sharif's government another chance to make courageous political decisions in regard to Sindh's urban areas, which it failed to do during the earlier elections and after coming into office. Nawaz Sharif will get another such opportunity after the resignations in the Sindh assembly are accepted.

As Iqbal has said, self-indulgence is not the way the affairs of government are administered and in this instance, the courage of a cheetah and the perseverance of an eagle are needed. Because of the actions of the present authorities, conditions are now such that army leaders hold a meeting of their corps commanders in Murree and that same evening attend the American ambassador's party; the ambassador then leaves his guests to hold a private meeting with the army leaders for half an hour. Every informed person in the capital knew three days prior of this evening reception to be held on 5 July. The prime minister is the head of the government and the army chief of staff serves under him but the prime minister could not ask his army chief of staff, "General, have you obtained prior permission to meet with the American ambassador?" Can the prime minister tell his army chief of staff that in view of the political conditions in the country and the Sindh operation, he cannot meet with the U.S. ambassador? Prime minister Nawaz Sharif is now in this situation because of his nonpolitical decisions in political affairs and unscientific method of solving problems.

**Steps Being Taken To End Kickbacks in Defense Deals**

*BK1908103192 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English*  
*19 Aug 92 p 12*

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 18—The Federal Government has decided to draft a law aimed at eliminating "kickbacks" in the procurement of defence equipment. Federal Minister for Defence Production Mir Hazar Khan Bijarani said while talking to a group of newsmen here on Tuesday.

The details of the proposed law, Mr Bijarani said, would be discussed at the next high level meeting of the Defence Production Division.

The Minister said at a recent meeting held in Rawalpindi the policy directives of the Prime Minister about defence purchases and development were discussed threadbare. Ways and means of implementing them, he said, were considered in depth. According to the Minister, the high-level meeting took a number of decisions for checking under-hand commission in defence deals. It was decided to take stringent punitive action against

those officials who indulged in malpractices and under-the-table deals in the procurement of defence equipment, he said.

According to Mr Bijarani, the decision to set up a high-powered committee to consider and approve the purchases of all new defence equipment with a value of Rs [Rupees] 1250 million and above was taken in the light of the Prime Minister's recent directive.

Mr Bijarani said procedure for the purchase of defence equipments and development contracts must be so transparent that the elements of loopholes and use of discretions were completely done away with.

The decision to take stringent action against malpractices in defence contracts, Mr Bijarani said, was taken following a spate of reports appearing in the press suggesting a lack of transparency in procurement of defence equipment.

The Minister said that enacting a law to discourage kickbacks etc in the contracts was needed to stop the

malpractice of under-the-table commission to anyone. The proposed law, he said, would cover serving and retired personnel.

Mr Bijarani confirmed that the law was being enacted in the wake of reports highlighted by the press about kickbacks. He referred in this context a case of kickbacks reported by The Muslim on March 5, 1992. In that particular case, Mr Hussain Nasir, a Pakistani working under the flag of Pakistan Premier Company (PPC), had sued an American company known as FMC. The company in question had sacked him allegedly under pressure of the authorities of the project with which the American firm had entered into a contract for the production of armoured personnel carries (APCs) at Taxila. Hefty commissions were involved in the contract.

According to the Minister, the American court had now given a decision in favour of Hussain Nasir. When the case came to the notice of the President and the Prime Minister, they ordered inquiry into it.

### Government Accused of Absolute Neglect of Human Rights

92AS1317I Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English  
16 Jul 92 p 8

[Article by Imrana Khwaja: "Embattled Women and an Opposition Under Seige"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Despite the presence of elected institutions, 1991 was a year of ordinance rule, says the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan's [HRCP] State of Human Rights Report for 1991, released last week.

Last year's score of laws passed was: President 42 and Parliament 14. But even this figure is deceptive. Nine of the 14 acts passed by the Parliament simply rubber stamped ordinances promulgated earlier by the President. To add insult to injury, six of the Presidential Ordinances were issued on April 27, a day before the National Assembly was scheduled to meet.

In the first full calendar year of the present government, says the HRCP report, "no laws were adopted, no institutions set up, no moves initiated that can be regarded as a significant advance towards better guaranteeing to the people their basic rights, or towards making the violation or deprivation of them more difficult. Perhaps the contrary."

Except for legislation finally abolishing the system of bonded labour there was little to be happy about in the area of laws. The ruling against interest by the Federal Shariat Court gave the country's economic system a rude shock, the Shariat Bill finally became law, the Qisas and Diyat Ordinance kept being re promulgated by the President (4 times), legislation against the Ahmadis was further tightened and a mandatory death sentence for 'Gustakh-e-Rasool' was used by the Muslim majority with gay abandon to harass Christians.

More and more powers were given to the federal government to bypass the ordinary courts and try an ever widening range of offences in 'special courts.' A provision for special courts already existed in the Suppression of Terrorism Act of the '70s, which was enacted to deal with cases of 'sabotage, subversion and terrorism.' Three additional pieces of legislation joined the statute book: The Terrorist Affected Areas (Special Courts) Ordinance, the Twelfth Amendment and the Special Courts for Speedy Trials Ordinance.

The Twelfth Amendment to the constitution gave the federal government the power to set up special courts to try "heinous" offences. It also gave the President an additional lever on the higher courts. While to date, any addition in the salaries of the judiciary required a constitutional amendment, the Twelfth Amendment empowered the President to revise the salaries and pensions of judges of the superior courts.

The Terrorist Affected Areas Ordinance followed hot on the heels of the Twelfth Amendment, and was even more dangerous. It empowered the federal government to

declare high crime areas as terrorist affected and set up special courts. Police would be given extensive powers, to the extent of causing death, in an area declared to be 'terrorist affected.' Courts established under this Ordinance are given the power to hear a much wider range of offences than the Suppression of Terrorism Act.

Adding to the confusion, a new Special Courts for Speedy Trial Ordinance was passed last year, a more oppressive than an Ordinance of the same name passed in 1990. Whereas in the 1990 law, for example, a special court could only be set up and cases referred by a provincial government, the 1991 law gave these powers exclusively to the federal government. The scope of offences triable by the courts was also extended considerably, giving the federal government the discretion to refer "an offence punishable under any law" which in its opinion is "gruesome brutal or sensational in character" or "created panic or an atmosphere of anxiety among the public." The system of appeal was also altered; an appeal no longer lies to the regular High Court but to another special court called the Supreme Appellate Court.

The other arm of the law, the police, continued to harass individuals. This was particularly true for Sindh, where "pressure tactics were applied on a large scale during elections" against the opposition. Arbitrary arrest and detention without trial again included the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], in Sindh in particular. "Official intolerance was most evident in regard to the political opposition. The lengths to which the Sindh government in particular went in putting restraints on it have few parallels in a would-be democratic society."

Without specifying the exact period, the HRCP report says that there were 171 people with political affiliations under detention in Sindh's prisons: 48 belonged to the PPP, 21 to its students wing the SPSF [expansion not given], 24 to Jeay Singh, 14 to the JSSF [expansion not given], 47 to the JSTP [expansion not given], 8 to the dissident Ladla Group of the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement], and 4 to the MQM.

Deaths in custody and torture by police continued to be routine: "The common forms of torture are use of fetters in police lock-up, beating with leather straps, and hanging upside down. This is the standard method of investigation to extort confession." The HRCP listed 10 deaths in police custody, including an 80 year old man from Dadu district.

The police in fact comes out of the report looking pretty terrible. The DIG [Deputy Inspector General] Hyderabad is quoted as saying that 90 per cent of policemen in Sindh were protecting dacoits. Punjab too, says the HRCP, was not much better crime-wise than Sindh. "Cited official statistics showed how, for instance, crime rate shot up in Iqbal Town in Lahore soon after a police post was set up there."

Those criminals who did face trial and were convicted (as opposed to being killed in police encounters) landed up in prisons bursting at their seams. In Punjab the

actual population of the prisons was at least, if not more than, twice the authorised accommodation. In August for instance, there were 38,026 under trial and convicted persons squeezed into accommodation fit for 17,207 people. Similarly with condemned prisoners; in August there was authorised accommodation for 816 condemned prisoners, and the actual population was 1,819.

These are only a few of the grim facts and statistics contained in a report which competently documents Pakistan's dismal human rights record.

#### Asia Watch

More than 70 per cent of women in police custody experience physical or sexual abuse at the hands of their jailers, says a report on police abuse of women in Pakistan researched and compiled by Asia Watch and the Women's Rights Project, a U.S.-based human rights organisations. Yet, "despite these alarming reports, to our knowledge not a single officer has suffered criminal penalties for such abuse, even in cases where incontrovertible evidence of custodial rape exists."

It was reports such as these that prompted Asia Watch and the Women's Rights Project to focus on police abuse of women in Pakistan. Their report, 'Double Jeopardy', includes little original research, but is an extremely useful compilation of the stacks piled against the women who comes into contact with the criminal justice system, and the government's disregard (and at times perpetuation) of their ill treatment and sometimes torture.

In many instances, torture includes rape and extreme humiliation by police officers. The report quotes a random sample of crimes of violence against women reported in the English and Urdu press which found that of 20 cases of rape or ill-treatment, 12 directly or indirectly involved police officials.

"In one case we investigated from 1988, three women were detained for alleged sexual offences under the hudood laws and were held in police custody for 48 hours before being produced before a magistrate and ultimately released for lack of evidence. While in police lock-up, all three women were raped and sexually abused by several officers; one of the women, who was 60 years old, had police batons inserted forcibly and repeatedly into her vagina and rectum. Although a judicial inquiry initiated into the incident by local human rights attorneys supported the rape and abuse charges, the police were never prosecuted. The 60-year-old woman told us that her life was "finished" and she no longer hoped for justice."

The Hudood Ordinances, says the report, have been largely responsible for giving the police the opportunity to physically abuse women. Prior to their passage, "women were not directly involved with the criminal justice system in any significant number; only 70 women were incarcerated in the entire country." By 1991 over 2,000 women were in jail awaiting trial under this law alone.

The report demands the repeal of the hudood ordinances: "Not only do they prescribe punishments that are cruel and inhuman under international law, but they clearly discriminate on the basis of gender." Studies show that about half the women in prison for zina, have been sent there by their husbands or fathers. "Of the 44 women in Karachi Central Jail in 1987 who were charged with hudood offences, over half were accused of having committed zina, due to leaving their homes with a man of their own choice, which is often interpreted as abduction by Pakistani courts."

Acknowledging that no hadd punishment had been executed to date, the report found that the vast majority of hudood cases attracted the lesser tazir punishment. But that doesn't make life much easier for rape victims: "The courts tend to see women as complicit in sexual offences, despite a lack of evidence, or evidence to the contrary, and required from female rape victims extraordinarily conclusive proof that the alleged intercourse was forced. Moreover, many women who alleged but were unable to prove rape have themselves been charged with adultery or fornication for consensual sex, although a failure to prove rape does not prove that consensual sex occurred."

One such case investigated was of Majeeda Mujid, an 18-year-old girl who "was abducted by several men, raped repeatedly over a two month period, and finally turned over by them to the police. Although she complained that she had been raped, the police charged her with illicit sex, imprisoned her pending trial, and let the men go free."

Given women's subordinate status in Pakistan, the report continues, it is extremely unlikely that she will possess the knowledge or the means to secure even the minimal protection due to her under the law. A 1988 study conducted by Asma Jahangir and Hina Jilani found that "over 90 per cent of the 90 women interviewed in two prisons in the Punjab were unaware of the law under which they had been imprisoned. Over 60 per cent had received no legal assistance whatsoever." According to the Inspector General Prisons in an interview given in 1987, "maybe 50 per cent of the women in jail are innocent, but because they are unaware of their rights and too poor to hire proper legal aid, they are convicted."

Pakistani women are not the only ones to suffer at the hands of the criminal justice system. The report quotes a national survey conducted by the National Council for Social Welfare in 1991 as finding that between 100 and 150 Bangladeshi women are illegally taken to Pakistan each month. "The majority are lured by promises of better jobs, but often end up in brothels where they are compelled to provide sexual services, or in private homes where they are forced to work as domestic servants or, in some cases to become wives. The average age of women and girls victimized by this trafficking is 15."

But, predictably, it is the women and not the pimps who end up in prison. According to the 1991 survey, 1,400

Bangladeshi women and girls are in prison in Pakistan either for having entered the country illegally or under the Hudood Ordinance, but while pimps involved in their sale have occasionally been arrested by the police, "we are unaware of a single one who has been prosecuted or punished for trafficking in women or for abuses commonly associated with the practice."

The government's response to this situation is described as "woefully inadequate ... Rather than remove procedural obstacles to justice for the victims of police abuse, the government has adopted policies that perpetuate police impunity and erode judicial independence."

#### Plan To Modernize Telephone System Unveiled

92AS1420G Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English  
31 Jul 92 p 4

[Article by Mohammad Yasin: "Rs 3b Plan To Modernise Telephone System"]

[Text] Islamabad, July 30: The federal government is currently implementing a Rs[rupees]3000 million programme aimed at modernising the telephone system in five years time and making telephone connection available within 24 hours by the end of the current year, highly-placed official sources told THE MUSLIM here Thursday.

According to the sources, the government is simultaneously negotiating with Iran and Turkey to link up Pakistan with the optic fibre system of communication. A proposal to this effect was submitted by Pakistan at the recent meeting of the ECO [Economic Cooperation Organization] countries. The meeting decided that the ECO should take up a feasibility study in this regard in its next meeting.

The sources informed that the laying of the optic fibre from Karachi to Islamabad has been completed at a cost

of Rs 1300 million. They expected the new optic fibre line to be operational by the end of August this year. This system, they said, will put an end to congestion on the lines and eliminate line dropping. They said the work has been accomplished in 15 months despite the disturbed law and order situation in Sindh. The new system would replace the outmoded and outdated copper wire system which could carry limited load. Optic fibre is the state of art technology which can carry 100 times more load, they said.

According to the sources, in the next phase optic fibre would be laid from Rawalpindi to Peshawar along Grand Trunk Road at a cost of Rs 300 million.

The sources said that with the installation of optic fibre, it would be possible to introduce video-telephone in the country. This facility, they said, would be available in Pakistan by March 1994.

The sources said that on the completion of the laying of optic fibre cable from Karachi to Peshawar, the Communication Ministry would start work on laying optic fibre cable from Peshawar to Karachi along Indus Highway.

They said that the entire project is being funded by the World Bank. Japan is assisting Pakistan to construct Indus Highway. They said that within less than a year about 17 telephone exchanges in the country would be computerized. Likewise the telephone directories will also be computerized, they said.

About the plan to link Pakistan and Turkey with international optic fibre communication system, the informed sources said that Pakistan plans to lay optic fibre cable from Sukkur up to the border of Iran. Meanwhile, Iran and Turkey are working on plan to lay optic fibre cable up to the European border of Turkey. In Europe and the United States, the optic fibre cable is already operating. According to the sources, Pakistan is desirous of establishing links on this system.

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